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# COLLECTIONS

## PART III

THE MALONE SOCIETY

1909

*Temporary Title-page]*



This Third Part of the Society's *Collections* is continuous with those already published. When sufficient parts have appeared to form a substantial volume an index and preliminary matter will be issued.

*July 1910.*

W. W. Greg, *Gen. Ed.*



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\*.\* Except where otherwise stated the responsibility for  
contributions rests with the General Editor.



## NOTES ON THE SOCIETY'S PUBLICATIONS

THE publications of the Malone Society for the year 1909 consist of five plays—John Phillip's *Patient Grissell*, the *Two Italian Gentlemen*, Brandon's *Virtuous Octavia*, the *Iphigenia at Aulis* translated by Jane, Lady Lumley, and the *Second Maiden's Tragedy*—together with the present part of the Society's Collections. Once again the General Editor's thanks are due to the kindness and courtesy of all those who have shared in the work of preparation.

The Society was fortunate in obtaining, through the generosity of one of its members, Mr. Bernard Quaritch, the opportunity of reprinting John Phillip's play, the existence of which had never even been suspected by modern bibliographers. This naturally lends the publication an unusual interest which is heightened by the fact that the play is an almost unique example of a particular type which appeared and rapidly vanished in the development of the English drama. The author, who elsewhere describes himself as the son of Robert Phillip, clothworker, and a student of Queens' College, Cambridge, is rather obscure, and some doubt attaches alike to the canon of his works and the form of his name. As regards the latter, an examination of other publications in which it appears shows that the form Phillip, which is found on the title-page of the play and is also that adopted in the British Museum catalogue, should be preferred to all the variants—Philip, Philips, Phillips, Phillyps—advocated by the Dictionary of National Biography.

The ultimate source of *Patient Grissell* is, of course, the tenth



novel of the tenth day of Boccaccio's *Decameron*, but whether Phillip went direct to the Italian original may be doubted. It must be borne in mind that the story had been translated into Latin by Petrarch, and that a French rendering of this version had appeared at Paris early in the sixteenth century; also that a French translation of the whole *Decameron* by Laurens de Premier-Faits was accessible in several editions. There was also a French play on the subject which has been preserved both in a late fourteenth-century manuscript and in a printed version of about 1550. The mutual relations of these various works appear to be somewhat intricate and have not yet been worked out. One small point may be mentioned before leaving Phillip's play. Grissell, it will be remembered, sings a song with the refrain 'Singe danderlie Distaffe, & danderlie' (ll. 219-66 of the reprint). It may or may not be significant that in 1565-6, the very year of the first entry of *Patient Grissell* in the Stationers' Register, there was also licensed, to Alexander Lacy, 'a ballett intituled Danderly Dyscasse' (Arber's Transcript, I. 302).

Our second play, *Fidèle and Fortunio, the two Italian Gentlemen*, is scarcely less of a bibliographical curiosity than *Patient Grissell*, and is certainly possessed of greater literary attraction. The piece has, of course, been long known to students through the description given by Collier in his *History of English Dramatic Poetry* (1831, iii. 241; 1875, iii. 60), and the extracts printed by Halliwell in his *Literature of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (1852, p. 15). Curiously enough, however, neither mentioned the whereabouts of the original, a point which continued to puzzle students until, about a year ago, Mrs. S. A. Strong, then librarian to the Duke of Devonshire, reported the missing play at Chatsworth, and with his usual kindness His Grace allowed the elusive quarto to be brought up to the British Museum and reprinted.

This Chatsworth copy is unfortunately incomplete, wanting, it may be presumed, two preliminary leaves at the beginning and two leaves of text at the end. That Halliwell printed his extracts from this copy is proved by a note indicating in his source an

identical imperfection at the end, while the preliminary leaves were evidently also wanting. Collier recorded two copies, 'one without the title-page, and the other wanting also the dedication.' This second copy must be that now at Chatsworth, formerly in the Inglis and Heber collections, in spite of the fact that no mention is made of the deficiency at the end. Of the copy with a dedication no other record survives. Collier's note runs:

'The following is the Dedication upon the initials subscribed to which depends the claim of Anthony Munday to be considered the translator: the letters belong to no other author of that period.

"To the worshipfull and very courteous Gentleman, Maister John Heardson, Esquier, A. M. commendeth this pleasaunt and fine conceited Comœdie.

"Worshipful sir, my acquaintaunce with you is very little, which may impeach me of presumption in this mine attempt: but the good report of your affable nature to every one, giveth me hope to be entertained amongst them. I commende to your frendly viewe this prettie conceit, as well for the invention, as the delicate conveyance thereof, not doubting but you will so esteeme thereof, as it dooth very well deserve, and I hartely desire. As for myselfe, your good construction will gather (I hope) the sum of my good will: which is more towards you then I will heere speake of, and therefore is left to your wonted favour to judge of. Your worship to his power—

"A.M."

'Had Munday been more than the translator, he would scarcely have spoken of the piece in the terms he has here employed.'

[The later edition has a few trifling variants: in the heading 'Master' for 'Maister'; 'one giveth' for 'one, giveth' in l. 3; and 'will; which' for 'will: which' in l. 9 of the text. In the last line 'worship' is presumably an error for 'worships'.]

The only corroboration of the existence of a second copy of this play—the only bibliographical statement, that is, which does not obviously go back to Collier himself—occurs in Hazlitt's

*Handbook*, p. 406. There will be found the following note: 'Only 2 copies are known, neither of which has the title-page. The running title is "The Two Italian Gentlemen". Dedicated to John Heardson, Esq., by A. M.; on the reverse of this dedication is a Prologue spoken before the Queen, consisting of two 6-line stanzas. The dedication is printed in Collier's H. E. D. P. iii., 243 [sic for 242]; it is only in one of the two known copies.' Regarding the source of this statement it has unfortunately been impossible to obtain any information. But it will be seen that the two copies mentioned are clearly those described by Collier. We are then to suppose that Collier had the Prologue to the Queen before him and yet never mentioned it. This is the more unlikely in that such a prologue would clearly imply a court performance, whereas Collier says that 'whether it was ever acted we have no means of knowing'. Moreover, it is significant that in the course of his description of the play Collier does quote 'two 6-line stanzas' [headed in the later edition 'A Love Song'], namely ll. 194-205 of the Malone reprint. In the absence, therefore, of further information, it would be unsafe to regard Hazlitt's note as anything but a confused and inaccurate summary of Collier's description. But an uncorroborated statement of Collier's is never very satisfactory evidence, and there are one or two circumstances which are calculated to raise special doubt in the present case. For upon the alleged dedication Collier based the ascription to Munday which he was the first to suggest, and which receives little support from stylistic considerations. Moreover there are two passages in the epistle itself which seem slightly suspicious. Thus, in connexion with the phrase 'impeach me of presumption', it should be observed that while 'to impeach of an act' is, of course, a common construction, there seems no authority for 'to impeach of a quality'. Again, the phrase 'the delicate conveyance' seems to mean the delicate manner in which the idea is communicated, but the earliest instance of conveyance in the sense of communication cited by the New English Dictionary is dated 1662, though it seems,

indeed, to have been so used by Nashe as early as 1594 (*Unfortunate Traveller*, ep. ded.). These would, indeed, be slender grounds for pronouncing the epistle a forgery, but it must be admitted that in the absence of any corroboration of Collier's statements it would be uncritical to attach weight to his ascription of the play to Anthony Munday.

Before proceeding it will be well to clear up a confusion as regards the authorship found among certain earlier bibliographers. There is no need to treat seriously Chetwood's entry of 'Fidelia and Fortunatus, about 1690' under the heading 'Mr. Barker'. But the ascription was not original. In Langbaine's *Dramatic Poets* (1691) we find the entry 'Fidele and Fortunatus: I know not what sort of Play it is, whether Comedy or Tragedy, having never seen it; but in Old Catalogues 'tis ascribed to Thomas Barker'. Now the form in which he quotes the title shows the 'Old Catalogue' he had before him to have been Kirkman's second list (1671). But in this there is no trace of Barker's name, which must therefore have crept in through some confusion. It is just possible that at a careless glance Langbaine confused 'Fidele and Fortunatus' with 'Fortunatus', i.e. *Old Fortunatus*, which occurs a few lines above, and so took down the name 'Tho. Decker', which then got transformed into 'Thomas Barker'. Kirkman had evidently not himself seen our play. While in 1671 he gave the title as 'Fidele and Fortunatus', in 1661 he called the piece 'Fidele and Fortunata'. This entry was borrowed from Archer's list of 1653, where we find 'Fidele and Fortunata. C[omedy]'. This in its turn is apparently an incorrect copy of the entry in Rogers and Ley's list of the same year, 'Fidele and fortunio'—this being the only place in which the names were given in their correct form previous to Collier's *History*.

But it is happily possible to offer more than merely negative conclusions. There is a claimant to the authorship of the play whose credentials, if they cannot be held to prove his absolute right, are at least above suspicion. For the per-

mission to make the following announcement, which is certainly not less startling than novel, the editor is indebted to the kindness of Mr. Charles Crawford, to whom belongs the sole credit for what is, in any case, an important discovery. The discovery is this: that, if we are to believe the statement of Robert Allot in 1600, the author, or rather translator, was none other than George Chapman. Under the heading 'Women' in *England's Parnassus* occurs the following entry (sig. X 4<sup>v</sup>):

Their Vertues mount like billowes to the skies,  
And vanish straight out of the gazers eyes,  
Hate and disdaine is painted in theyr eyes,  
Deceit and treason in their bosome lies.

G. Chapman.

[Collier, in his edition of *England's Parnassus* (1867, p. 369), gives *Ovid's Banquet of Sense* as the source of the lines, but this is merely one of the numerous misstatements he lavished upon the volume.]

These lines the reader will find in the *Two Italian Gentlemen*, spoken by Fidele: namely ll. 661-2 and 655-6.

There has been occasion before now to point out in these notes that Allot's testimony is not of a first-rate kind, but it is far from negligible, and in such a case as the present, in which it is the only serious evidence available, considerable weight must clearly be attached to it. Mr. Crawford thinks he can detect in the humour of the *Two Italian Gentlemen* a resemblance with that of Chapman, but the judgement is necessarily of too personal a character to add much to the weight of the external evidence. Chapman is supposed to have been born in 1559, and would therefore have been about twenty-five years of age at the time of the registration of the play.

But Mr. Crawford's discoveries do not stop here. He has drawn attention to the following poem which occurs in *England's Helicon* (1600, sig. O 3; ed. Bullen, p. 135):

¶ Montana *the Shepheard, his loue to Aminta.*

I serue *Aminta*, whiter then the snowe,  
Straighter then Cedar, brighter then the glasse : 225  
More fine in trip, then foote of running Roe,  
More pleasant then the field of flowring grasse.  
More gladsome to my withering ioyes that fade :  
Then Winters Sunne, or Sommers cooling shade.

Sweeter then swelling Grape of ripest wine, 230  
Softer then feathers of the fairest Swan :  
Smoother then Iet, more stately then the Pine,  
Fresher then Poplar, smaller then my span.  
Clearer then *Phœbus* fierie pointed beame :  
Or Icie crust of Christalls frozen streame. 235

Yet is she curster then the Beare by kind,  
And harder harted then the aged Oake :  
More glib then Oyle, more fickle then the wind,  
More stiff then steele, no sooner bent but broake.  
Loe thus my seruice is a lasting sore : 240  
Yet will I serue, although I die therefore.

*FINIS.*

*Shep. Tonie.*

Now, as Mr. Crawford points out, this poem forms ll. 224-41 of our play. But there are certain significant variations. In l. 224 the play reads 'I serue a Mistres', l. 226 'Finer in trip and swifter then the Roe', l. 234 'then Beauties', l. 239 'Stiffer then'. Further, as mentioned in Bullen's notes, a copy of these three verses occurs in a miscellaneous poetical manuscript in the British Museum, Harley 6910 (fol. 170). It is without heading or signature, and in the case of the variants just recorded it agrees with the play against the *Helicon* text. It presents, however, a number of peculiarities of its own. Thus in l. 227 it reads 'fieldy', in l. 229 a blank is left for the word 'Sun', the scribe being apparently unable to read his copy, in l. 230 the

reading is 'vine' (an obvious emendation), l. 233 'a span', ll. 234-5 run:

Clearer then beauties fyerie painted beames  
Or yscie crests of Christall frozen streames,

l. 239 has 'bent then broake', and l. 240 'Loe this'. Yet one step more. In *England's Parnassus*, under the heading 'Discriptions of Beautie and Personage', is found a poem of 36 lines beginning 'In Paradise of late' and signed with the initials S. G. (1600, sig. 2 E 1; ed. Collier, p. 483). The first stanza of this poem ends with the lines:

Brighter then *Phæbus* fierie-pointed beames  
Or ycie crust of christall frozen streames.

This couplet, it will be seen, agrees exactly with no other version. It stands alone in reading 'Brighter', agrees with *Helicon* as regards '*Phæbus*', supports the manuscript in 'beames', 'streames', and 'christall', but has 'pointed' correctly, and rejects the manuscript reading 'crests'. Its position is thus wholly anomalous, and it no doubt represents the recollection of an imitator who had come across the lines in more than one form. The identity of S. G. is unknown; the only suggestion being Stephen Gosson. It is certainly curious, in view of Collier's attribution of the play, that the Shepherd Tonie, to whom the verses are ascribed in *England's Helicon*, is commonly identified with Anthony Munday, though it must be admitted that the identification rests on a very slender basis.

Another point observed by Mr. Crawford is a certain resemblance between ll. 683-6 of our play:

He plowghes the seas, and fishes in the lande,  
And loseth all the labour of them both,  
He fondly reares his fortresse on the sande,  
That builds his trust vpon a womans troth;

and the following out of Sidney's *Arcadia* (Bk. II, 1593, sig. V2<sup>v</sup>, l. 19):

He water plowes, and soweth in the sand,  
 And hopes the flickring winde with net to holde,  
 Who hath his hopes laid vp in womans hand.

There would, of course, be nothing astonishing in the writer's having seen the *Arcadia* in manuscript, but it should be noticed that the poem in which the lines occur is not found in the first edition of Sidney's romance (1590), but only in the fuller version published from Lady Pembroke's own papers. It is perhaps, therefore, more likely that such resemblance as there is between the two passages should be due to the writers having imitated a common source.

But if some uncertainty still hangs about the identity of the translator of the play, recent research has at all events established beyond doubt that of the original author. In 1906 Professor G. C. Moore Smith edited, from the unique manuscript at Penshurst, a Latin comedy by Abraham Fraunce, to which he gave the title *Victoria*. The play was published as volume fourteen of the 'Materialien zur Kunde des älteren Englischen Dramas' edited by Professor W. Bang at Louvain. It fell to the lot of Professor Wolfgang Keller to notice the agreement between this Latin comedy and the description of the *Two Italian Gentlemen* given by Collier. He communicated his observation to Professor Moore Smith, who had the good fortune to lay his finger on the common original in Luigi Pasqualigo's comedy, *Il Fedele*, first printed, according to Allacci's *Drammaturgia*, at Venice in 1576, later editions appearing in 1579, 1589, and 1606. These results, together with a comparison of the three pieces in question (the English being represented by Halliwell's extracts), were published in the *Modern Language Review* in January, 1908 (iii. 178). Meanwhile the connexion of Fraunce's play with that of Pasqualigo had been independently noted by Professor Wilhelm Creizenach of Cracow, who drew attention thereto in a volume of 'Stromata in honorem Casimiri Morawski' (Cracoviae, 1908, p. 217). Fraunce's version preceded the publication at all events of the English.



The latter is by far the freer rendering, but it is evident that it was made direct from the Italian, since it not only retains passages in that language but likewise uses the word 'Sbirri' (i.e. 'catchpoles') as the name of the Captain of the Watch. There seems no evidence that Larivey's French version of Pasqualigo's play saw the light before 1611.

As to whether the English play was ever performed it is impossible to speak with certainty. Collier wrote that 'whether it was ever acted we have no means of knowing, but it was ill calculated for representation, and could hardly have been popular'. This is a somewhat surprising judgement, for it certainly seems not unsuited to the stage according to the standard of the early eighties, the years that witnessed the first efforts of Lyly and Peele. Moreover Nashe's allusion to Crackstone in 1596 appears much more natural if we suppose the play to have been familiar on the boards. Nevertheless Collier's dictum has become the orthodox view: 'seemingly never brought on the stage,' says Ward (*English Dramatic Literature*, i. 431); 'Probably not acted,' echoes Fleay (*Biographical Chronicle*, ii. 113).

With regard to Samuel Brandon's *Octavia* there is nothing to add to what has already been said in the note prefixed to the reprint. Nor is there much to say about the *Iphigenia*. An edition of the piece appears in the Shakespeare-Jahrbuch for 1910, in the introduction to which the editor claims to have shown that Lady Lumley made considerable use of Erasmus' Latin version, from which her 'Argument' is, indeed, directly translated. He has not, however, succeeded in determining the edition of the original used. The rendering is in any case far from faithful, but the deviations from the original should not be measured by comparison with a modern edition of Euripides. The sixteenth-century texts often differ widely among themselves, especially in the distribution of speeches, and none of them seem very satisfactory in this respect. It is perhaps worth while drawing attention to a record in the Revels' accounts for 1571-2 of 'Effignia A Tragedye shoven on the Innosents daie at nighte by the Children of powles' (Feuillerat, *Revels of Elizabeth*, 145).

Whether or not there is any truth in Fleay's guess, 'Translation from Euripides' (*Biographical Chronicle*, ii. 287), the piece is not likely to have had any connexion with Lady Lumley's. The reference to a song belonging to an English version of the play found in certain bibliographies is based on a misapprehension.

Lastly, a few words may be added with regard to the *Second Maiden's Tragedy*. The ultimate source of the main plot is the story of Herod and Mariamne. This is indicated in the play itself where the Tyrant says:

I once read of a *Herod* whose affection  
pursued a virgins loue, as I did thine  
whoe for the hate she owd him kilde her self  
(as thow to rashlie didst,) w<sup>th</sup>out all pittie:  
yet he preserud her bodie dead in honie  
and kept her longe after her funerall. (ll. 1856-61.)

This is, indeed, sufficiently far from the historical narrative of Mariamne, who became Herod's wife, bore him five children, and was put to death by him in a fit of jealousy. Yet the story was of considerable antiquity and is thus reported in the Jewish Encyclopedia (s. v. Mariamne): 'There is a Talmudic legend concerning the marriage and death of Mariamne, although her name is not mentioned. It is to the effect that when the whole house of the Hasmoneans had been rooted out, she threw herself from the roof and was killed (Baba Batra, *Talmud*, 3 b). Out of love for her, Herod is said to have kept her body preserved in honey for seven years (*ib.*; S. Geiger, in 'Ozar Nehmad', iii. 1).' The sub-plot of the play, on the other hand, is taken from the tale of the Curious Impertinent told in the fourth part of Don Quixote, chapters vi-viii. Some of the names are retained. With regard to the authorship, the only thing to be said is that no suggestion yet made can claim serious authority. It is not true, as stated in the preface to the piece in Hazlitt's edition of Dodsley's Old Plays (reprinted from Baldwin's Old English Drama of 1824-5), that the first name written at the end of the manuscript is 'William (afterwards

altered to Thomas) Goughe'. The christian name is Thomas ; it has been scored through but not altered: the surname is either Goffe, or possibly Gouffe, certainly not Gough. The more critical guesses of later writers include the names of Massinger, Tourneur, and Middleton, but the respective claims of these authors cannot here be discussed.

# ALBION KNIGHT

A FRAGMENT OF A MORALITY PRINTED BY COLWELL, C. 1566.

IN the course of the craft-year which began on 22 July 1565, and early in it, the following memorandum was entered in the Register of the Stationers' Company: 'Recevyd of Thomas Colwell for his lycence for prynting of a play intituled a merye playe bothe pytty and pleasaunt of albyon knyghte . . . iiij<sup>d</sup>' (Arber's Transcript, I. 299). That the piece was extant in the seventeenth century is clear from the entry 'Albion. I[n]terlude,' which occurs in the lists both of Archer (1656) and Kirkman (1661 and 1671), but neither Langbaine nor Gildon saw it. Chetwood, in the *British Theatre* of 1750, invented the date 1573, which is said to have been copied by Oldys in his notes, and also appears in Baker's *Companion to the Play-house* in 1764. By 1782, however, when this was enlarged by Reed under the title of *Biographia Dramatica*, the entry in the Stationers' Register had been discovered. Subsequent bibliographers have added nothing new.

The first to record the existence of the only fragment of this play known to survive was J. P. Collier, who gave a detailed account of it in his *History of Dramatic Poetry* (1831, ii. 369), and reprinted it in full in the Shakespeare Society's Papers in 1840 (i. 55). He states that it was 'recovered from the fly-leaves of an old book, where it had been originally placed by the binder as waste paper'. This may be so, though the leaves bear no sign of having ever formed part of a binding. The extant fragment, which consists of the outer half of sheet B and the whole of sheet C, six leaves in all, is preserved in the Library at Chatsworth, bound up in a volume of miscellaneous

papers, along with a careful transcript in Collier's handwriting, and the fragment of *Temperance and Humility*, which also figures in the present part of the Society's Collections. It is to the generosity of the Duke of Devonshire and the kind offices of his late librarian, Mrs. S. A. Strong, that the Society is indebted for the present reprints of both fragments.

It will at once be seen that, like *Wealth and Helth*, *Albions Knight* belongs to the type of the political morality, better known in such monumental examples as the *Satyre of Three Estates*, *Magnificence*, and *Respublica*. Bale's *King Johan*, though akin, can hardly be classed with these, on account of its historical basis. Nothing is known as to the authorship or history of the piece, for Collier's suggested identification with a play performed at court in 1559 does not merit discussion.

Nay, I will taste of other assayes  
 And spare our dame for holy daies  
 So that for very neede shee must vse her feate  
 With other of her house, and such as she can geate,  
 Yet is she not much to blame  
 Though shee increase her husbandes name  
 Such chyldren to brynge as now ye see mee  
 Tall men as I am vnworthie though I bee.

☉ Thou spekest lyke a Lorell full larg & full lewdly Iustice  
 10 And not lyke a childe gotten of true matrimony  
 And yet though thy person enduce no lykelyhode  
 That in thee shuld be any manhode  
 Yet besyde that thou seemest of manhode frayle  
 Because so abused is thy lyght apparaile.

☉ Apparell, good fyr, what faulte is that Iniuri.  
 Though grey be her cote why blame ye y wild cat  
 Why shuld ye hym deme of nature frayle  
 Though as wyse as ye wolde were a Fox tayle  
 Or a cote after the comen vsage  
 20 Or haue by nature a mad wysage  
 These be no wytnesse for Iustyce to dysferne  
 Nor certayne knowledge of nature to lerne  
 And christ taught you fyr how ye shuld iudge men  
 Sayenge Nolite iudicare secundum faciem.  
 And yet in nature better knowledge shuld bee  
 Then is in apparell ye know perdie.

☉ O yet in apparell is great abusyon Iustice  
 If it be framed without dyscretion  
 For in apparell there may a great token bee  
 30 Of fraylenes, of pryde, and instabylytie,  
 If comen assyse therin vse no mesure  
 For then is apparell a wanton foolyshe pleasure  
 And foly, best mede is of presumpcyon  
 When nature of reason vsed resumpcyon,

And therfore Chryst taught a gr̃eat wyfe prose  
Sayenge Ex fructibus eorum cognoscetis eos.

Iniuri. ¶ Yet with ỹ same text I pray you wipe your nose  
Hee said not Ex vestibis eorum cognoscetis eos.

Albion. ¶ Yet freindes I pray you once agayne  
To seace your traice that breedes disdayne 40  
And hartely both I do you pray  
That both your frendshyps haue I may.

Iniury. ¶ Syr as for myne ye shall not myffe  
But thys gentleman I thinke wyll go pyffe.

Iustice. ¶ Nay fyr Albyon I wyll not draw backe  
If that of mee ye haue lacke,  
So that I were in perfyte fuertie  
That this man here shuld manhode bee.

Iniury. ¶ Now Chrystes benedycyte  
How Albion and Iustyce hath forgot mee 50  
Because of mee they had no exercyse  
Of long tyme by any enterpryse  
Wherefore sithen ye can not know me by experience  
I wote not how ye shuld knowe me but by my cre-  
Therefore by my trouth & by my honestie (dence  
Beleue mee, for manhode trulie I am hee.

Albion. ¶ Then by your othe I am content  
To haue your frendshyp with good assent  
And Iustice I pray you to do the same.

Iustice. ¶ Syr if manhod be hys name 60  
As hee hath fworne I wolde be glad  
That hys frenshyp also I had.

Albion. ¶ Then Iustyce I pray you bothe  
Let mee knyt you both vpon hys othe.

And thẽ he taketh both their hands together saieng  
Now freindes I trust we be all three  
And with this knot I pray you contented to bee

Iustice. ¶ Syr ye ought to be contented best of all

For

- Where iustice is treited with due equitie  
 70 And where no fauour nor mede shuld bee  
 And when reason hath tried there euerie deale  
 That such an acte were good for the comen weale  
 If therin anie losse may bee  
 To the disaduauntage of Principaltie  
 Such an acte lesen all hys fute  
 With a lytle indoyfing of reason astute  
 And if it touche the Lordes sprytuall  
 Or be disaduauntage to the Lordes temporall  
 Fare well, go bett, this bill may sleepe  
 As well as through the parlyament creepe  
 80 And if that Marchauntes be moouid with all  
 Or anie multitude of the comen hall  
 This is not for vs say they than  
 This bill is naught but for to wype a pan  
 And this is all your new equitie  
 And for all your message, yet thus will it bee.  
 ¶ Alas if this may not reformed bee Albion.  
 I shall neuer be sure of prosperitie.  
 ¶ Ye and what foloweth hereof maister Albion Iniuri.  
 To your person vniuerfall derysion  
 90 ¶ Why to mee derision. Albion.  
 ¶ For all other straunge nacions Iniuri.  
 They will raile on you with open proclamacions  
 Saienge whosoeuer do as he dose  
 Is halfe a man and halfe a wild goose.  
 ¶ Why halfe a man and halfe a wyld goose. Albion.  
 ¶ For with hie reason they saie ye can dispute Iniuri.  
 And trie out perils with labourous fute  
 And eke the treasure for the comen vaile  
 As farr as wit or reason can affaile  
 100 But when all is done and your statute made  
 Then foorth ye go in a wise trade

To



To brynge it all to good concludion  
 And put it neuer in execucyon  
 Then speke they further in steede of a mocke  
 They hauē made a statute lyke a woodkocke  
 That hath but one eye and the other blynde  
 And it wyll turne with euery wynde  
 And for because ye study but for the begynnynge  
 And neuer prouide for a fure endyng  
 Begynnynge lyke a man ye take great affay  
 At last lyke a wyld goose euen but to flye away.

110

Iustice. ¶ Well if thys be true it is more pytie  
 Yet let vs endeuer both ye and I  
 To taste our message that it were done  
 To helpe here of some reformacyon.

Albion. ¶ Ye that to do I pray you bothe  
 And to you two I promyse by othe  
 I shall mee endeuer with the cōmynaltie  
 Theyr hole allegyaunce to keepe in vnytie.

120

Iustice. ¶ Then God be your spede for I wil forth my way

Albion. ¶ And I will after god's guyde vs that best may.

Iniuri. ¶ And I wyll tarye no longer whyle  
 But as I see you ouer the stile.

Then departeth Albion & Iustice both.

Iniuri. ¶ Now here begynneth a game ywys  
 For manhode they wene my name is  
 But trust mee fyrs if I shuld not lye  
 My name is called Iniury  
 Whych name to hyde I thonght it polyfie  
 And turne it to manhode, and wote ye why?  
 It is a parte of our new experyence  
 When I agaynst ryght make styffe defence  
 That Iustyce in hys seate may not be enstabled  
 Then am I Iniury manhode called  
 O than of mee craketh euery man

130

How

123 Iniuri. *half a line too low in original.*  
 130 thonght, *sic.*

129 called, *possibly calle d.*



How lyke a Lorde this fellowe here can  
 The laboe to defend without a fail  
 For all theyr pledyng in Westminster hall,  
 Or say what they wyll and bable there  
 yet mayntenaunce and I wyll kepe the there  
 If it come once to the countree  
 Then as I wyll so shall it bee  
 A very cause syng why I hyde my name  
 Was, they shuld not suspect my fame  
 Because I wolde ippe all theyr intent  
 To chaunge theyr purpose after my iudgement  
 And so wyll I do, for thys is theyr pretence  
 By meane of Justice to bypnye in experyence  
 That peace shuld continew the people amonge  
 And so by that meane to banyshe mee wronge  
 But trust me syng I wyll none of that  
 But rather by theyr faces I wyll them scrat  
 And mee to mayntaine in this oppnyon  
 I haue an olde mate called Dyrpnyon  
 That shalbe of my counsaile in thys case  
 Whych I truste wyll not turne hys face  
 Tyll Peace be dyruen clene from Albyon  
 And then let Justice and mee alone  
 For I trust or hee and I haue done  
 He shall go whystle in a mary bone  
 As for any ryghtfull iudgement  
 That after this shall folow hys intent  
 And now syng will I goo my waye  
 My fellowe to seke, synde him if I may.

Here Iriary goeth out, & then Diatision cometh  
 in with a byll, a sword a buckler, & a dagger.

I haue in the ruske  
 Out of the buske  
 A lustye Captayne,

Diatision.  
 on.

How lyke a Lordē this fellow stere can  
 The lawe to defend without a fall  
 For all theyr pledyng in Westminster hall,  
 140 Or say what they wyll and bable there  
 Yet mayntenaunce and I wyll kepe the chere  
 If it come once to the countree  
 Then as I wyll so shall it bee  
 A very cause fyrs why I hyde my name  
 Was, they shuld not suspect my fame  
 Because I wolde spye all theyr intent  
 To chaunge theyr purpose after my iudgement  
 And so wyll I do, for thys is theyr pretence  
 By meane of Iustice to brynge in experyence  
 150 That peace shuld continew the people amonge  
 And so by that meane to banysh mee wronge  
 But trust me fyrs I wyll none of that  
 But rather by theyr faces I wyll them scrut  
 And mee to mayntaine in this opynion  
 I haue an olde mate called Dyuycion  
 That shalbe of my counsaile in thys case  
 Whych I truste wyll not turne hys face  
 Tyll Peace be dryuen clene from Albyon  
 And then let Iustyce and mee alone  
 160 For I trust or hee and I haue done  
 He shall go whyftle in a mary bone  
 As for any ryghtfull iudgement  
 That after this shall folow hys intent  
 And now fyrs will I goo my waye  
 My felow to seke, fynde him if I may.  
 Here Iniury goeth out, & then Diuision cometh  
 in with a byll, a sword a buckler, & a dagger.

¶ Haue in the ruske  
 Out of the buske  
 170 A lustye Captayne,

Diuify  
 on.

C.

A

A Boore with a tuske  
 A sturdie Lufke  
     Any battaile to detaine  
 A stalyon floute  
 To beare it out  
     In euery wheare,  
 And neuer to Loute  
 For a knaues cloute  
     though my hed it beare.  
 As styffe as a stake  
 • Battayle to make  
     As neuer aferde.  
 I can awake  
 These knaues and take  
     Them fast by the berde,  
 For Peace is bent  
 Nor full intent  
     To lyue at ease,  
 Shall not preuent  
 Let of my iudgement  
     To alter in dysease.  
 Such cast I haue  
 To coniure a knaue  
     Out of his skynne,  
 Though Iustyce raue  
 To hange or saue  
     Fye on hym horfon.

180

190

Here cometh Iniury in agayne.

Iniuri.

¶ Mary fye on hym horefon  
 What art thou mad agayne.

200

Diuify  
 on.

¶ What myne olde freinde Iniury  
 How were other hanged and thou let go by.

Iniury

¶ By god because I tooke delaye  
 For lacke of thee to bee myne attorneye.

What

- ¶ What horſon woldeſt thou haue mee  
Be truſſed vp in ſtede of thee. Diuify on.
- ¶ Ye by god, but euen for a ſaye  
That I might lerne of you to know the playe. Iniury
- ¶ To play horſon, what meniſt thou by that diuiſiō.
- 210 ¶ By god me thought euen now ye were in a ſnare Iniuri.  
Or els an huntyng to catche an hare  
But harke I ſay, do together and ſpell  
Beware euer amonge of the frery clarkes bell.
- ¶ It is doubtfull to mee all that thou ſpekeſt Diuify on.  
I pray thee ſpell it thy ſelf & tell me what thou me-  
¶ But woldeſt thou nedes ſo fayne know it (neſt Iniuri.  
I tell thee with Albion and luſtyce I am knyght  
Therefore it were wyſdome for thee  
To beware what thou ſayeſt before mee
- 220 ¶ What horeſon then thou haſt forſaken mee. diuiſiō.  
¶ Nay I had leuer ye were ſkynned all three Iniuri.  
For I haue turned the wronge ſyde of my hode  
And tolde them my name was manhode  
And now by god in any wyſe  
For both our eaſes I muſt haue thyne aduylſe.
- ¶ What haſt thou now chaunged thyne olde copy diuiſiō.  
To luſtyce and Albyon to be a comen hoby,  
Or art thou a ferde of thy olde name  
That in euery place is had in fame
- 230 ¶ And is ſupported in ſuch ſuffrentie  
From the lowiſt vnto the hyeſt degree.  
¶ Nay by god I was not aferd Iniuri.  
It was but for to claw theyr berde  
Or rub it of all that they ment  
That I myght know all theyr intent  
Wherof the matter is to longe to tell  
For the tyme that we dyd mell  
But ſhortly to ſhew thee for a concluſyon

C.ii.

Theyr

Theyr mynde is to brynge vs bôth to confusyon.

diuifiō. ¶ I pray thee by what meane. 240

Iniuri. ¶ Albyon hath sent Iustyce to Pryncypaltie  
To haue assystence, and mee to suffreyntie  
Of the Lordes temporall to haue theyr ayde  
That Iustyce in no wyse shuld be delayde.  
And this thou knowest well inough perdye  
Thus they meane to destroy thee and mee  
And as for Iustyce foorth is gone  
Spe ede as he can, but I taryed alone

• And yet I wolde no messenger bee  
Tyll I had the aduyce of thee 250

Therefore how sayest thou now in thys case  
Wee shall not be idle to play at thys bace.

diuifiō. ¶ Tush as for this I care not a puddyng prycke  
For wee two wyll go thorow thyn and thycke  
Maygreffe theyr heades euerychone  
Though they be as harde as rocke or stone

Iniury ¶ I pray thee tell mee howe

diuifiō. ¶ Fyrst I my selfe wyll enterpryse  
That peace shall haue no exersyse  
Betweene the comons and Pryncypalitie 260  
Nor betweene lords spiritual & lords of the tempo-

Iniury ¶ Or y go ani further tel me by what mene (raltie

diuifiō. ¶ I haue two spyes of great exercyse  
The one is called double deuyce  
Hym wyll I sende I may tell thee  
Vnto the court to Pryncypalytye,  
And hym wyll I charge that wyth hys prouifyon  
Pryncypalytye and the comons to set at dyuyfyon  
The seconde spye is called olde debate  
A synguler fellow with a ballyd pate 270  
Hym wyll I send to the lordes spirituall  
To cause them to wrangle w the lords temporall.

¶ What

¶ What shall they vse in their deuise.

Iniuri.  
diuifiō.

¶ The one to principalytie shall surmyse

That the comons hartes do aryse

Against him, when that he doth aske

In tyme of neede, our money for taske,

His harte to mooue with such vnkyndnes.

Then the same spye shall vse lyke doublenes

280 And go to the comons and to them tell

That Principalytie with equitie doth rebell

More to hys lucre in euerie deale

Applyeng his affection then to the comen weale

And how that he of neglygence

Doth not apply for theyr defence,

Neither by Sea nor by londe

Neither by hye wayes, neither by stronde

But theues and raueners and murders eke

Dayly true men they pursue and seke

290 And that his lawes indifferently

Be not vsed, but maintenaunce and brybary

Is suffred alone without reformation

That the poore comons is in altercation

Of this matter and wote not what to say

Bringing them in opinion y they ought not to pay

To pryncypalytie theyr duety of very defarte

Except lyke duetie be mynistred on hys parte.

¶ I make god a vowe this is a fouerayne bayte

Iniuri.

To brynge our purpose to a narrow straye

300 But what shall the other spye then do

A felowshyp tell me that also.

¶ Mary he shall enfourme the lordes temporall

diuifiō.

That the spyrytuall men wolde rule all

And saye it were shame to them by the rood

That ben dyscended from the noble blood

To suffre any other of such powre to bee



To haue the gouernaunce about principallitie  
 Sythen they inheritous are borne to bee  
 Of the hye counsell by blood and dygnytie  
 Which medycyne I trow wyll not lyghlie starte 310  
 Till it hath tyckled them all by the harte  
 Then shall the same spyre taste the other parte  
 And turne to them the wronge side of the carte  
 And say that god of his hye great grace  
 To them hath geuen good fortune and space  
 By lerning sadnes and grauitie

• And for theyr due reward in honour to bee  
 And bere to them boldly in hand  
 That they ought by reason to rule thys land  
 Because the power of temporalitie 320  
 Hath no knowledge in conning perdie  
 Neyther in youth will labour the passage  
 Of paine for vertue to rule in age  
 So that if they rulers wold bee  
 They know not how, for in suffycientie  
 Thus will I deuide by thys proper trayne  
 That peace amongst them shall not rayne.

Iniuri. ¶ Mary thys is a cast of a new horse combe  
 To rub any on the nauyll that hath a tickle wōbe  
 This gere will worke after my fantasie 330  
 To make of an olde grudge a new frenesie  
 And this openeth the gate euen for mee  
 That both the one and the other degree  
 Shall wraastle with them selfe in such afflictions  
 That euerychone shal disdayne at other iurisdiction

diuisiō. ¶ What wilt thou do thē let me here thy cast (ons

Iniuri. ¶ This gentle fede will I sowe at the last  
 When Peace by thee is in perplexitie  
 And wote not in what parte quyete to bee  
 Then Iustice must euer be in doubt 340

Which

Which parte at nēdē shall bere hym out

So that for my part he shall stand styll

Whyle I ronne at large and haue all my wyll.

¶ But to what concludiōn wylt thou bryng it then diuifiō.

¶ Why knowest not thou, then harke me man Iniuri.

This Iustice is a felow of a farr cast

And dryueth such dryftes to rule at the last

And Peace is hys brother of one degree

Which hath a fayre daughter that is called plentie

350 And Albion as longe as rest him treats

Hee loueth fayre flesh of all meates

And it is a comen saieng that Iustice Peace & hee

Will conclude a maryage with fayre dame plentie

And then wyll Albyon that olde soot

With rest and peace so on her doot

That than shee by her and her freindes

Shall fayle in stormes at all wyndes.

¶ By gods bread thou sayest trouth diuifiō.

But this to help we must not vse slouth.

360 ¶ No, and therfore harke me to an ende Iniuri.

Thou and I shall thys matter defende

For thou shalt to Albyon a messenger bee

And say thou were present when principalitie

With Iustyce fell at great debate

When that his message he dyd delate

From Albiō, & tel him that principalitie in no wyse

His will with equitye will graunt to exercyse

But that the law shuld be but after his lykyng

And euery wryt after hys entytelyng

370 And that his will who euer lyst to sryse

Shuld be the best part for hys prerogatyse

And than they both fodeinly vppon thys

In great rages departed iwys

Wherfore Iustice said I am in such confusyon

That

That I am a shamed to turne againe to Albyon  
 And when this message thou hast done soberly  
 Tell hym thy name is Polyfy.

diuifio. ¶ What the deuill meneft thou by that  
 Shuld I decemble from a wyld cat  
 That euer before thys haue vsed patchyng 380  
 And now to play the wise man & leaue scratching.

Iniuri. ¶ Why horfon it is a poynt of hye madnes  
 For a tyme to defemble sadnes,  
 And though thou be all redy as mad as a harte  
 Yet will I make thee madder then thou arte

diuifio. ¶ Well say on then.

Iniuri. ¶ Mary then euen thus I say  
 When that to Albion thou hast taken thy way,  
 And done thy message as I thee bad  
 He wyll for a while be pensife and sad 390  
 And hee will aske thyne aduise  
 Then must thou dissemble thy selfe wyfe.

diuifio. ¶ I make god a vowe that is vnpossyble  
 That I and wyfdome shuld knyght in one quyneble  
 Or in my braine to print such abusyon  
 That wyfdome and I shuld be in one conclusion  
 For when I was yonge my mother charged mee  
 And said beware wyt son though thou neuer thee.

Iniuri. ¶ & I am not disposed to chaunge much your lyue  
 But here me speke an end though you neuer thriue 400

diuifio. ¶ Well say on then and tell mee what counsell  
 I shall giue Albion that may sound well  
 To both our profits that wolde I know.

Iniuri. ¶ Thou shalt teche him a wronge crosse row  
 And tell him best it is after thine aduise  
 With myrth and Prodigalitie him to exercyse  
 And take of his owne good while he maye  
 Left all at last be brybid awaye

For

375 a shamed, *sic*.  
*harmony*.

394. quyneble, *i.e.* quynible, *a part in music, hence*

# TEMPERANCE AND HUMILITY

A FRAGMENT OF A MORALITY PRINTED C. 1530.

LIKE *Albion Knight* the fragment printed below is preserved at Chatsworth. It consists of a single leaf which has obviously come out of a binding. It is now bound up as though it formed part of *Albion Knight*, though it is not included either in Collier's transcript or edition of that play. It was, however, known to him, for it is both described and quoted in a note in his *History of Dramatic Poetry* (1831, ii. 370), where he writes: 'Mr. Douce has a single leaf of an interlude, which may possibly have been part of the same production [i. e. *Albion Knight*]; it is marked with the signature A iij, and the persons engaged in the dialogue are Humility, Temperance, and Disobedience.' A glance at the facsimiles here given will show any one familiar with sixteenth-century typography that the present fragment is a generation or so the elder of *Albion Knight*, so that there can be no question of their being parts of the same edition; while the signature-title 'Tempe.' which Collier apparently overlooked or ignored, or perhaps mistook for a catch-word, removes all probability, if not all possibility, of the two fragments representing different editions of the same play. This signature-title is a distinctive feature, occurring, so far as the editor is aware, in plays from the presses of de Worde, Pynson, and Skot alone. The present fragment seems to agree most closely with the work of the first of these, but no conclusive test can be applied.

The following note, kindly communicated by Professor Alois Brandl, is of interest as showing how conflicting different classes of evidence may be. The leaf, he writes, 'is a very interesting fragment of a political morality, which, as far as I

remember the printed plays, is not preserved. I should think it belongs to the same time and group as *Respublica*. There was not much reason to complain of disobedience in religious matters until the succession of Mary. The allusion to the disobedient that are "royally provided of land and of fee" may refer to the nobility as enriched by church property under Henry VIII. This would point to a catholic author.\* But unless the typographical evidence is wholly misleading the fragment must be much older than the reign of Mary.

Of how the fragment formerly in the possession of Douce found its way to Chatsworth there seems to be no record, but doubtless Collier was the intermediary. In the quotations given in his *History* he perfects l. 28 '[Th]us' and l. 52 'wolde [go]' (sic).

mo vertues that bled sholde be  
 & they be banysshed as fereth me  
**Deas** **Dis.** I bydde you & come whan I call **Disob.**  
 I am royally prouyded of lande and offe  
 Noble **Disobed** pence of might moost potencyall  
 yet wolde I be called by name due prosperyte  
 sholde I be obedyent to the superlatyfe degre  
 Re yet to no creature that lyueth in londe  
 Sythe I am fre I wyll neuer be bonde  
**C**hat may ye repent ye shall vnderstande  
**C**hole take thou this nowte of my hande  
**C**ye be to blame so for to do  
 Co synye so hasele yt is your shame  
 It was but good he sayd you to  
 Thus to be so wythe ye be to blame  
**C**ell me what thou art called by name  
**C**my name is **Temperaunce**  
 That neuer dyde greuance  
 To man nor chyld  
**C**And I haue humylite suffoynge verturbaunce  
 & he wyth to goddes dyspleaunce  
 But mer meke and myde  
**C**What make ye in this countre  
 your warke is all in vayne  
 ye can not preuaile  
 In vayne and dyobedience  
 with howe of presence  
 as wyll be ayle  
 court in contry and in many a countre  
 In every order the wyll present  
 & durye of ayle  
**Tempe.**

**Tempe.**  
**Disobe.**  
**Humilite**

**Disobe.**  
**Tempe.**

**Humilite**

**Disob.**

And thus he said to all the people

And he holde tell all I have said

For both the spiritual and temporal followeth out

And as yet by I will do

Scap. ¶ God it amende and it be so

As for religious I trust in dede

That obedience with them shan go

His may they soone stande in drede

Disobe. ¶ That is not so as god me spede

For the poorest no we in a place

Wyll lacke bothe loue and drede

And rebell in wordes they wyll a pace

Amilite ¶ This tale to here it is a pyceous case

God banyshe this vyce from this countre

And restore obedience to euery place

That euery creature may knowe his degre

And euery to dwell with humylite

Than grace wyll folowe vyce to exchele

And euery man to his maner wolde be trewe

Disobe. ¶ That wyll they neuer by I were Iesu

Empe. ¶ I wolde fro this place that thou wolde

And remembre thy myse þ thou hast wrought

For moche is the sorowe that thou hast do

And all disobedience thou hast in brought

Amilite ¶ Many is the person thou hast put in thow

And banyshe humylite with loue and pr

In wyttull hertes soze thou art sought

That thou hast troubled many a notable pla

Disobe. ¶ And many mo I wyll bringe to that ca

aduocyste and my brother aduersyte

With the counterfayt name of prosperyte

• ] mo vertues that vsed sholde be  
they be banysshed as fereth me

¶ Peas whā I bydde you & come whan I call Disobe.

I] am royally prouyed of lande and of fe

Noble Disobedyence of might moost potencyall

Yet wolde I be called by name due prosperyte

Sholde I be obedyent to the fuperlatyfe degre

Ne yet to no creature that lyueth in londe

Sytþe I am fre I wyll neuer be bonde

10 ¶ That may ye repent ye shall vnderstande

Tempe.

¶ Chorle take thou this nowe of my hande

•Disobe.

¶ Ye be to blame fo for to do

## Humilite

To fmyte fo haftely it is your shame

It was but good he sayd you to

Thus to be so wrothe ye be to blame

¶ Tell me what thou art called by name

Difobe.

¶ My name is Temperaunce

Tempe.

That neuer dyde greuaunce

To man nor chylde

20 ¶ And I am Humylite fuffrynge perturbaunce Humilite

] to be wrothe to goddes dysplefaunce

But euer meke and mylde

¶ What make ye in this countre

Difobe.

your warke is all in vanyte

ye can not preuayle

### Aludacyte and dyfobedience

with Aduerfytees prefrence

lus wyll we rayle

court / in conſtry and in many a couent

30 In euery order we dwell present

o] duely we affayle

Tempe.

a.iii.



So many foloweth now our intent  
 And I sholde tell all I sholde be fhent  
 For bothe spūall and tēporall foloweth our ca[  
 And after<sup>vs</sup> wyll do

Tempe. ¶ God it amende and it be so  
 As for relygious I trust in dede  
 That obedyence with them shall go  
 Els may they soone stande in drede

Difobe. ¶ That is not so as god me spede 40  
 For the poorest nowe in a place  
 wyll lacke bothe loue and drede  
 And rebell in wordes they wyll a pace

Humilite ¶ This tale to here it is a pyteous case  
 God banysshē this vyce from this countre  
 And restore obedyence to euery place  
 That euery creature may knowe his degre  
 And euer to dwell with Humylite  
 Than grace wyll folowe vyce to exchewe 50  
 And euery man to his maister wolde be trewe

Difobe. ¶ That wyll they neuer<sup>r</sup> by swete Iesu  
 Tempe. ¶ I wolde fro this place that thou wold [  
 And remembre thy mysse y<sup>e</sup> thou hast wrought  
 For moche is the sorowe that thou hast do  
 And all difobedyence thou hast in brought

Humilite ¶ Many is the person thou hast put in thought  
 And banysshed Humylite / with loue / and po[  
 In wyllfull hertes fore thou art fought  
 That thou hast troubled many a noble plac[  
 ]fobe. ¶ And many mo I wyll bringe to that cas[ 60  
 Audacyte and my brother aduerfyte  
 with the counterfayt name of prosperyte

34 ca, the c doubtful. 49 exchewe, sic, final e doubtful. 53 wrought,  
 the t doubtful. 56 thought, final t doubtful. 57 po, doubtful. 59 plac,  
 the c doubtful. 60 cas, the f doubtful.

## JAMES I AT OXFORD IN 1605

THE following documents, which are now printed for the first time, are preserved in the Oxford University Archives (P. Fascic. 5. 3). They were transcribed by permission of the late Keeper, the Rev. T. Vere Bayne, while photographs have also been obtained through the kindness of his successor, Mr. Reginald Lane Poole. They relate to plays performed by members of the University before King James, who was accompanied by the Queen and the young princes, Henry and Charles, during his visit to Oxford from 27 to 31 August 1605.

A detailed account of the visit, by Philip Stringer, Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, survives at the British Museum in MS. Harl. 7044 (ff. 201, &c.), and has been printed by Nichols (*Progresses of James I*, 1828, i. 530), while another account will be found in Isaac Wake's *Rex Platonicus* (1607). Great preparations were made for the King's entertainment by plays and disputations: 'Stages, seats and scaffolds' were set up in St. Mary's Church and in Christ Church Hall, and 'for the better contriving and furnishing' of these 'they entertained two of his Majesties Master Carpenters, and they had the advice of the Comptroller of his Works'. Inigo Jones was also paid a large sum to furnish 'rare devices'. The Lord Chamberlain himself, the Earl of Suffolk, came down on 22 August to inspect the arrangements, and insisted on important alterations being made. Further, that the plays might be produced in a manner befitting the royal presence, apparel and 'furniture' were specially hired from London, and sent back as soon as the visit was ended.

It is with this apparel and furniture that the following docu-

ments are directly concerned. They are inventories of costumes and properties, including in one case the receipts for payment. But their relation to one another is not altogether clear. Those marked A and A<sup>1</sup> below are to a large extent duplicates. A may possibly be a list of requirements, and A<sup>1</sup> of articles delivered. B and B<sup>1</sup> are also duplicates so far as the goods received from 'm<sup>r</sup>. Kendall' on 20 August are concerned. But though this date is later than the latest in A<sup>1</sup>, many of the properties mentioned seem identical with those in the previous lists. C consists entirely of articles of apparel, and is apparently a detailed inventory of the '20 loose garments . . . for nymphes' and other dresses mentioned in lists A and A<sup>1</sup>.

Though some of the points raised cannot be definitely settled, it is yet very interesting to learn that Edward Kirkham and Thomas Kendall supplied properties for the Oxford performances. Kirkham had been Yeoman of the Revels since 28 April 1586. But on 20 April 1602, he and Kendall, who was a London haberdasher, together with others, became partners with Henry Evans, the lessee of the Blackfriars Theatre, where the Children of the Chapel performed (Fleay, *History of the Stage*, 224; C. W. Wallace, *Children of the Chapel*, 87-9; E. K. Chambers, *Court Performances*, in *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, iv. 157). On 31 January 1604 the name of the company was changed to the Children of the Queen's Revels. It would therefore appear to have been from the stage-properties of this company that the garments and 'furniture' were hired for the use of the University. Legal documents apart, the present seem to be the only known papers in which the names of Kendall and Kirkham occur together.

Mathew Fox appears to be otherwise unknown, and was probably merely the agent for the delivery of the goods. Bernard Banger, who made the payments on behalf of the University, was the chief Esquire Bedell. He had matriculated at New College on 9 February 1581/2, had taken his B.C.L. on 16 June 1601, and had been elected Bedell on 7 August the same year. He held office till 10 March 1614/5 (*Register of the*

*University of Oxford*, ed. A. Clark, 1887, ii. 2. 116, i. 257, 3. 230).

To the historian of the drama as distinct from the stage, the main interest of these documents lies in the light they throw upon the lost play *Alba*, performed before James on the first evening of his visit. The pieces represented on the following evenings were *Ajax Flagellifer*, Matthew Gwynne's *Vertumnus*, and Daniel's *Arcadia Reformed*, afterwards published as the *Queen's Arcadia*. The last two are, of course, extant, while *Ajax Flagellifer*, though lost, must have been a version of the Sophoclean tragedy, or at least have had a similar plot. With the exception of the items mentioned at the end of B<sup>1</sup> as having been brought specially for the *Arcadia* 'vppō m<sup>r</sup> Daniels fres', the properties appear to have been hired for the performance of *Alba*, since none of the characters mentioned in the lists are known to have appeared in the other plays. Stringer, in his account of the festivities, describes *Alba* as 'a Pastoral much like one which I have seen in King's Colledge in Cambridge' (Nichols, ut sup., i. 547), but he does not say whether it was in Latin or English. A strong argument for supposing Latin to have been the language is that we find the *Arcadia* specifically described as 'the English Pastoral'. Another argument pointing in the same direction is that the Cambridge play mentioned by Stringer has been usually identified with the Latin translation of Guarini's *Pastor Fido* acted at King's College and preserved at Cambridge in manuscripts in the University and Trinity Libraries (Greg, *Pastoral Drama*, 406). Too much reliance, however, should not be placed on this identification. It is noticeable that Stringer (Nichols, ut sup., i. 553) afterwards mentions the King's College 'Fidus Pastor' as the source of Daniel's *Arcadia*. Hence he may have been alluding to some other 'Pastoral' as akin to *Alba*. Moreover the details we are able to learn about *Alba* from the present documents do not suggest any very close resemblance with Guarini's play. The subject of *Alba* was evidently drawn in part at least from classical mythology, for it introduced Neptune, Apollo, Pan,

and 'old Nestor' among its characters.\* There also figured in it eight or ten kings, twenty nymphs, four 'Heremites', ten satyrs, three 'sylvanes', six morris-dancers, a magician, and an old woman, besides other characters less clearly distinguished—altogether a very comprehensive cast. Stringer, whose narrative has an acid flavour throughout, states that 'they brought in five or six men almost naked, which were much disliked by the Queen and Ladies'. Probably these included the 'sylvanes', whose 'suites of greene close to the bodye' may have suggested nudity. The 'many rusticall songes and dances', which proved so tedious that it needed the united efforts of the Chancellors of Oxford and Cambridge to prevent James from leaving before the comedy was half over, were doubtless contributed by the satyrs and nymphs, and by the morris-dancers decked in suits 'all lyke with garters of bels, 2 for everye on'. As we read the present documents with their detailed record of the expenses and pains lavished on the preparations, we realize how grievously disappointed the scholars must have been when the play failed to please the royal visitors.

The General Editor has been kind enough to check the text of the documents, and also to make himself responsible for most of the annotations.

## [A]

- × 2: Longe White Beardes and hayres, the one in lockes for  
à sea god, the other for old nestor downe to the gyrdle.
- × 1. fflexen or yelowē hayre to the shoulders, for Apollo.
- × 20. Tuckes & Tresses of hayre to hange loose of browne,  
black, fflexen or anye coulors, for 20 nymphes.
- × 1. longe black beard and hayre vncurled for à magitian.
- 20. ffachions of Antique fashions. 4. pvyded.
- ⊕ 2 Rich Robes for Kinges of cloth of glold or embrodered  
velvett.
- ⊕ 20. mantles of severall coulors. 10 pvyded. 10
- 2. blacke robes the one of Saten or sylke th'other of  
velvett.
- 2. or 3. blacke saten habitz w<sup>th</sup> or w<sup>thout</sup> sleeves, to gyrte close  
vnder Robes. 1 pvyded
- ⊕ 4. Rich garmenty loose for women of gold, Tissue, or the  
best can be gotten.
- 12 p 20 loose garmenty of severall coulors of sylke and saten  
vided for nymphes.
- × 1. huntinge suite of greene.

The text of these documents covers twelve pages altogether. The body of the text appears to be written entirely in one hand, but since the scribe made the entries at various times with any pen that came handy, the appearance of the writing varies very considerably. Note has been made of the apparent changes. Interlineations and additions are noted: deletions are indicated by brackets.

2 *à*, a peculiarity of the scribe which appears in several varieties of the hand (cf. ll. 31, 45, 74, 108, 178).

5 *coulors*, *u* inserted.

7 *ffachions*, *falchions*.

7, 10, 14, 17-18. The notes of numbers provided are later additions.

8 *glold*, sic. 15 *Tissue*, fine silk, sometimes shot with gold.

- × 6. Suites for morrice dancers all lyke w<sup>th</sup> garters of bels. 20
  - 1. loose Heremity gowne of browne or black cloth.
  - 1. habite for an old woman loose and blacke.
- × 10. goates beardſ and pols of short hayre of goates color  
for Satyres.
  - 3 suites of greene close to the bodye for sylvanes.
- × one cassock of crimson velvett w<sup>th</sup> twist of gold.
- × one cosseck of cloth of gold lyned w<sup>th</sup> purple saten.
- × one cosseck of cloth of Tyssue, [lyned] carnatiō ground lyned  
w<sup>th</sup> crimsen saten.
- × one casseck of cloth of gold ground purple, embrodered 30  
round w<sup>th</sup> à border of purple velvet & sylv<sup>r</sup> lyned part  
w<sup>th</sup> saten and part w<sup>th</sup> taffatye
- × one cape cloake of cloth of sylv<sup>r</sup> stripped w<sup>th</sup> white velvett  
embrodered w<sup>th</sup> two gardſ of white velvett round about  
of gold lyned w<sup>th</sup> white velvett.
- × Itē one cape cloake purple cloth of gold embrodered w<sup>th</sup>  
one gard of purple velvett w<sup>th</sup> gold round about lyned  
w<sup>th</sup> purple velvett

[Endorsed] For the Playes at y<sup>e</sup> Kinges comminge. 1605.

[A<sup>1</sup>]

- 2 long white beardſ and hayres the one in lockes for a sea 40  
god, the other for old nestor to the girdle.
- 1 flexen or yellowe hayre to the shoulders for Apollo

20 *morrice*, originally written *morris* and altered.

26 page 2. The hand changes, becoming much more rapid. *cassock*, a  
long loose cloak.

30 *casseck*, interlined.

31 à, this peculiarity shows the hand to be the same.

34 *gardſ*, bands or stripes. *of white velvett*, interlined.

36 *embrodered*, a large blot between the o and the first d.

40 page 3. The hand changes again, a thicker pen being used.

Tuckes and Tresses of hayre to hange lose browne  
black flexen and all colors for 20 nymphes.

- 1 long black beard and hayre vncurreled for à magitiã  
fashion of Antique fashiõ 20. or 30. or 40.
- 8 or 10. rich robes for King of cloth of gold or embrodered  
velvett. w<sup>th</sup>out sleeves to hange onlye downe behind.
- 20 mantles of severall coulors.
- 2. black robes one of velvett thother of saten or sylke. 50
- 2 or 3 black saten habity to gyrd [to the] close vnder robes.
- 4. rich garmenty lose for womẽ of gold tyssue or the best  
can be gott
- 20 lose garmenty of severall colors sylke and saten for  
nymphes.
- 1. hunting suite of greene.  
[Apparell for sheppardy long r]
- 6 suites for morrice dancers all lyke w<sup>th</sup> garters of bels.  
2 for everye one.
- 1 lose Hermity gowne of browne or black cloth. or other- 60  
wyse.
- 1 habit for an old womã lose & black.

for 10 satyrs. goates beardy and pols of short hayre of  
goates color.

for 2 or 3 woode mẽ vel sylvanes. suites greene close to the  
bodye.

120 torches.

120 Tapers, or waxe candles

60 pownd of cotton candles. dutch lyghty. a yeare old yf  
maie be.

70

45 à, showing the hand to be the same.

46 *fashion*s, cf. l. 7.

47 or 10., interlined.

48 *w<sup>th</sup>out . . . behind.*, a later addition.

50 *one*, interlined.

63 page 4.

65 *vel sylvanes*, interlined.

67 The hand changes.

69 *cotton candles*, candles with cotton wicks.

*dutch lyghts*, apparently not



lether for 20 payre of busking.

Plumes of feathers. of necessitye.

6 payre of longe stokingy of severall colors to sett vp w<sup>th</sup>  
a short hose.

1 foote cloth.

delyvered mathew ffox. att the signe of the ffox in the old  
Bayley—xx<sup>s</sup>

Received the some of xx<sup>s</sup> of

Bernard Banger in

part [ ] payment.

by me mathew ffox

80

Received of Bernard Banger the 16<sup>th</sup> of August 1605 in  
part of payment for the lending of furniture to furnishe 36<sup>t</sup>  
the playes att Oxford 36<sup>s</sup> I saye received

by me Thomas Kendall

Received more in part of paymēt 24<sup>s</sup> the 17<sup>th</sup> }  
of August .. by me Thomas Kendall——— } 24

[B]

of m<sup>r</sup> Kyrkhä.

× × Syxe antique suites of cloth of gold  
× × Syxe payre of breeches 3 of cloth of gold three of sylv<sup>r</sup>. 90  
× × Syxe capps of cloth of gold w<sup>th</sup> white feathers. 1 wanting.

71 *lether*, I altered from *f*. 76 The hand changes again.

80 A large blot probably conceals the word *of*.

81 *me mathew ffox*, autograph.

82-7 The words *by me Thomas Kendall* in ll. 85 and 87 are autograph: the  
rest of the entries seems to be in the hand of the scribe, who would appear  
therefore to have been Banger himself.

86 page 5.

88 page 6.

91 *1 wanting*, later addition.

- × × One Robe for Apollo of cloth of Tissue blewe.
- × × Three mantles of cloth of gold Orange coulour.
- × × Three mantles of cloth of sylv<sup>r</sup> branched w<sup>th</sup> purple and Orange tawnye
- × × 2 mantles of carnatiō and sylv<sup>r</sup> branched

18<sup>th</sup> of August.

of m<sup>r</sup> Kendall the 20<sup>th</sup> of August 1605.

- × × one hunting suite of greene embrodered lyke starrs.
- × × 8 greene Robes of taffatye waved with frenge 100
- × [ × 1 orange tawnye and] white Robe of Taffatye. • habet.
- × × 1 cloudye taffatye Robe of severall colors of [taffatye].
- [10 headys and sixe beards for satyrs.]
- × × 14. Antique vizardys.
- × × 20 long hayres for nimphes
- × × 2 mens hayres the one for Apollo th'other blacke.
- × × 1 blewe hayre and beard for neptune.
- × × 1 blacke smooth hayre and beard for à magitiā.
- × × 1 white hayre and beard for nestor
- × × 1 Rounde white hayre. 110
- × × 2 heremits beardes the on graye thother white. white deest
- × × 3 beards one Red one blacke thother flexen.
- × × 10. satyers headys & berdys [th'one] and one suite for Pan.
- × × 14. Antique vizardys.

Receaved more of m<sup>r</sup> Kyrkhā the : 20<sup>th</sup> of August  
1605.

- × Inp<sup>r</sup> foure vpper garmentys of sea greene saten w<sup>th</sup> sleeves.
- × Itē foure payre of [greene] watchet bases, all lymned.
- × × Itē foure payre of sea greene bases all lymmed. 1 wanting.

98 Line inserted later. 101 habet., later addition.

111 white deest, later addition.

115 page 7.

118 watchet, i. e. watchet, pale blue. bases, skirts of a doublet.

119 1 wanting., later addition.

Received more of m<sup>r</sup> Këndall  
the 26<sup>th</sup> of August 1605.

120

× 14 vizardꝯ  
× 7 longe hayres  
× 4 berdꝯ

[B<sup>1</sup>]

Received of m<sup>r</sup> Kendall to the vse of  
the vniversitye of Oxford the 20<sup>th</sup> of  
August 1605. these thingꝯ followinge.

Inp<sup>r</sup> one Hunting suite of greene embro-  
dered w<sup>th</sup> sylv<sup>r</sup> stars.

Itē eyght greene Robes of Taffatye } 130  
waved w<sup>th</sup> ffrenge.

Itē one Orenge Tawnye Robe of Taffata . . .

Itē one Robe of cloudye taffata of  
severall coulors

Itē one suite of goates skinnes for Pan . . .

Itē 28 Antique vizardꝯ

Itē 20 longe hayres for nymphes.

Itē 2 mens hayres the one for Apollo the other  
black

Itē one blewe hayre and beard for neptune . . . 140

Itē one black smoth hayre & berd for a magitian.

Itē one white hayre & beard for nestor

Itē one Rounde white hayre.

Itē fyve other beards of severall coulors

Itē Ten Satyres headꝯ and berdꝯ

Itē 4 other beards for Heremity

Brought more by m<sup>r</sup> Kendall for the  
Englysh Pastorall vppō m<sup>r</sup> Daniels  
īres [ ]

Inp<sup>r</sup> 4 Sheppardꝯ coates of Taffata of severall  
coulors. 150

- Itē 7 Hatty of Taffata.  
 Itē 7 Sheepe Hookes.  
 Itē 3 velvett nightcaps with borders of hayre.  
 Itē one yelowē Taffata Robe.

## [C]

- 1 Inp<sup>r</sup> one Iupe and safegard of murrey saten imbrodered over  
w<sup>th</sup> gold & sylv<sup>r</sup>
  - 2 Itē on round Kirtle of Ashcoulour Satē imbrodered all over  
w<sup>th</sup> gold & sylv<sup>r</sup>
  - 3 Itē on round Kirtle of Tawnye satyn imbrodered all over 160  
w<sup>th</sup> gold and sylv<sup>r</sup> lyke wheate eares.
  - 4 Itē on Kirtle of peace coulour saten embrodered w<sup>th</sup> gold and  
sylver & coulored sylke lyke greate branches.
  - 5 Itē on round Kirtle of cloth of gold of Turkye worke.
- 
- 1 Itē on lose gowne of carnatiō saten abowtye strip w<sup>th</sup> sylv<sup>r</sup>.
  - 2 Itē one lose gowne [w<sup>th</sup>] of white sylv<sup>r</sup> tabine w<sup>th</sup> workes  
lyke dropps & flower deluces.
  - 3 Itē on lose garment of white spanish Tafatye w<sup>th</sup> workes  
lyke slyps of gold sylv<sup>r</sup> colored & sylke.
  4. Itē on lose gowne of carnatiō vncutt velvett florished all 170  
ov<sup>r</sup> w<sup>th</sup> sylv<sup>r</sup>.
- 
- 1 Itē one lose gowne of Ashcoulour saten florished all ov<sup>r</sup> w<sup>th</sup>  
sylv<sup>r</sup> lyke flames
  - 2 Itē on lose gowne of Isabella coulour saten laced round w<sup>th</sup>  
sylv<sup>r</sup> lace lyke cloudy

156 page 10. *Iupe*, a loose tunic or kirtle. *safegard*, an outer skirt, or protection. *murrey*, purple-red.

162 *peace*, for *peach*. 165 *abowtye strip*, for *striped about*?

166 *tabine*, a kind of silk?, cf. l. 184.

169 *slyps*, sprays? cf. ll. 181, 201. *colored*, interlined in the wrong place.

172 *all*, interlined. 174 *Isabella coulour*, greyish yellow.

- × 3. Itē on lose gowne of sylv<sup>r</sup> chambled w<sup>th</sup> [gold] great branches  
of gold
- × 4. Itē on lose gowne of murrey saten cutt and cuffed w<sup>th</sup> à  
narrowe border embrodered round about w<sup>th</sup> gold & sylv<sup>r</sup>
- × Itē on lose gowne of black saten embrodered all ov<sup>r</sup> w<sup>th</sup> 18<sup>g</sup>  
gold and sylver lyke slyps of Roses
- × Itē on lose gowne of Bee color velvett embrodered all ov<sup>r</sup>  
w<sup>th</sup> Oaes of gold and sylv<sup>r</sup> w<sup>th</sup> 27 buttons.
- × Itē on lose gowne of sylv<sup>r</sup> Tabine with workes of hayre  
color velvett faced w<sup>th</sup> orange color and white spotted  
shag.
- × Itē on lose gowne of pinck colored saten w<sup>th</sup> à gold and  
sylv<sup>r</sup> spang lace round about
- × Itē a longe cloake of Hayre colored saten lyned w<sup>th</sup> ash  
color plushe.
- × Itē one mantle w<sup>th</sup> à Trayne of white Tiffanye stripe w<sup>th</sup> sylv<sup>r</sup> 19<sup>g</sup>  
& workes of colors lyke cloudy
- × Itē on lose gowne of Ash color nett worke florished all ov<sup>r</sup>  
w<sup>th</sup> gold and sylv<sup>r</sup> and some small black bugles w<sup>th</sup>out  
sleeves.
- × Itē on lose gowne of sylv<sup>r</sup> Tynsell printed w<sup>th</sup> flowers all ov<sup>r</sup>  
of sylke of needle worke.
- × Itē on lose gowne of black nett worke florished all ov<sup>r</sup> w<sup>th</sup>  
gold & sylv<sup>r</sup> and workes lyke fethers w<sup>th</sup>out sleeves.
- × Itē on lose gowne of black nett worke florished all ov<sup>r</sup> w<sup>th</sup> 20<sup>g</sup>  
sylver in workes lyke [brances] slypes

176 *Itē*, sic. *chambled*, i.e. camlet. *great*, interlined, crossed out, and  
interlined again.

177 *on*, n doubtful. 180 page 11.

182 *Bee color*, black and yellow?

183 *Oaes*, i.e. o's, spangles, cf. l. 209. *sylv<sup>r</sup>*, altered from *saten*.

184-5 *hayre color*, brown?, cf. l. 189. 186 *shag*, rough silk cloth?

188 *spang*, spangle. 194 *bugles*, glass beads.

197 *sylke of*, interlined. 198 *nett*, interlined.

- < Itē on lose gowne<sup>r</sup> of color de roye, nett worke floreshed  
downe right w<sup>th</sup> waves of gold.
- < Itē on lose gowne of black nett worke florished all ov<sup>r</sup> w<sup>th</sup>  
gold and sylv<sup>r</sup> and sylv<sup>r</sup> buttons.
- < Itē on dublett of pinck colored nett worke florished w<sup>th</sup> gold  
and sylv<sup>r</sup> and workes of sylke lyke byrds and fyshes.
- < Itē on dublett of white taffatye cutt all ov<sup>r</sup> embrodered w<sup>th</sup>  
gold and sylv<sup>r</sup> lyke roses & panses & sylv<sup>r</sup> oaes.
- < Itē one dublett of Orenge colored saten embrodered all ov<sup>r</sup> 210  
w<sup>th</sup> sylv<sup>r</sup> and drawen out w<sup>th</sup> white tyffanye.
- < Itē one dublett of white saten stripe with gold [lace] plate  
all over.

This stuff to be folded vp w<sup>th</sup> the threed not agaynst  
the threed.

[Endorsed] A note of players apparell.  
at K. Iames being here

202 *color de roye*, i.e. *couleur de roy*, bright tawny (Cotgrave, 1611).

206 page 12. 210 *all*, interlined. 211 *tyffanye*, a thin silk.

217 *being*, reading doubtful. *here*, possibly a later addition.

## ROYAL PATENTS FOR PLAYERS

Most, but not all, of the fourteen theatrical patents here reproduced have been printed before in some form or other. The present texts are taken uniformly from the Patent Rolls, with the exception of No. III, which is an unexecuted draft, and No. XIII, which is not known to have been enrolled. Since some writers on the stage do not appear to be very familiar with the diplomatic processes involved in the issue of Letters Pat<sup>ent</sup>, as regulated in its main outlines by the Act of 1535 (27 Hen. VIII, c. 11), it may be as well to explain that there were as a rule seven stages. The proceedings began with (a) a Petition by or on behalf of the interested party, setting out the substance and sometimes the terms of the grant desired. If the request was granted (b) a direction was given by the Sovereign for the preparation of (c) a King's Bill. In this the wording of the intended patent was settled, and this wording was followed, with varying initial and final *formulae*, in the subsequent instruments. The King's Bill received the Royal Sign Manual and was then sent to the Signet Office, as the authority for the preparation of (d) a Signet Bill. This was addressed by one of the Clerks of the Privy Signet to the Lord Privy Seal, as the authority for (e) a Writ of Privy Seal, which was addressed to the Lord Chancellor and became in its turn the authority for the preparation of (f) the actual Letters Patent under the Great Seal. These were delivered to the persons in whose favour they were issued, but the Writ of Privy Seal passed on to the Six Clerks in Chancery, who made (g) an Enrolment of its contents on the Patent Rolls. For full accounts of the whole business and its historical origin, *vide*

S. R. Scargill-Bird, *A Guide to the Public Records* (ed. 3), 80, and H. Hall, *Studies in English Official Historical Documents*, 263. It will be seen that the contents of a patent can be ascertained indifferently from (c), (d), (e), (f), or (g), always provided that the process was not, as sometimes happened, 'stayed' before the Letters were issued, and that the Six Clerks did not, as also sometimes happened, omit the Enrolment. In practice the chief sources of information are the Patent Rolls, when a reference can be obtained to the right one of the many concurrent 'parts' for the regnal year, and the Signet Bills, of which many are preserved in the Record Office. The actual Letters Patent, of course, passed out of official custody. It should be added that books were kept, both in the Signet Office and in the Privy Seal Office, in which a Docquet or *précis* was entered of each patent passing through the office, and that these Docquet Books sometimes afford a clue to the patents which exist or must have existed. A nominal index to these Docquets for the years 1584-96 and 1601-24 is printed by W. P. W. Phillimore, *Signet Bills and Privy Seals* (*British Record Society, Index Library*, iv).

The patents here printed are all licences authorizing the performances in and out of London of particular companies of players, with the exception of No. XI, which is a licence for the erection of a theatre. The references to the Patent Rolls were taken from vol. xxxvi of the series of manuscript notes known as *Palmer's Indexes*. No attempt has been made to supplement these by a systematic search of the Rolls, but a comparison with Phillimore's index does not suggest that there are any obvious omissions, at any rate for the years covered by the index. The two warrants under the Signet included in an Appendix do not appear to have led up to patents. There is only one Elizabethan example in the series, but at present there is no reason to suppose that the experiment tried in favour of Leicester's men in 1574 was repeated for any other company during the reign. On the other hand all the Jacobean companies are accounted for, with the exception of the Children of



the King's Revels. There is evidence (cf. *Modern Language Review*, iv. 161) that this company had a patent, and I think it must be somewhere on the Rolls during 1606 or 1607. But I cannot spot any likely name in Phillimore's index under which the Signet Bill might be entered. I have also printed the one Caroline patent for which I had a reference. The list in V. C. Gildersleeve, *Government Regulation of the English Drama*, 234, suggests that there must be others. I must refer to Miss Gildersleeve's valuable essay and to my own *Notes on the History of the Revels Office under the Tudors* for discussions throwing light on the object and authority of the licences. The General Editor has been good enough to make himself responsible for checking the accuracy of the texts.

E. K. G.

August 1, 1909.

# I

[1574, May 10. Licence for the Earl of Leicester's players (*Patent Roll*, 16 *Elizabeth*, part 9). This was printed from a copy of the entry on the Patent Roll preserved amongst Rymer's papers in *Sloane MS.* 4625 by Steevens, *Shakespeare* (1773), ii. 156, and therefrom in *Variorum*, iii. 47. This text omits the words 'oure Citie of london and libties of the same as also within' (l. 21). Collier, *H. E. D. P.* (1879), i. 203, and Hazlitt, *English Drama and Stage*, 25, printed the Signet Bill, erroneously describing it as the Privy Seal, from the State Paper Office. This has the omitted words, and Collier, as the present transcript shows, correctly explains the omission in Steevens's text as due to an inaccurate copyist, pointing in proof to the words 'in oure said Citie of london' (l. 34). This did not, however, prevent Mr. Fleay (*Chronicle History of the London Stage*, 45) from asserting that in the Patent 'an alteration had been made from the Privy Seal', on the ground that its terms 'infringed on the powers of the City authorities'. Such an alteration not merely did not take place, but would have been a diplomatic impossibility, as the Patent Roll was made up, not from the Letters Patent, but from the Privy Seals on which these were based.]

p Iacobo Burbage Elizabeth by the grace of God quene  
& al. de licen'spali of England &c To all Iustices Mayors  
Sheriffes Baylyffes head Constables  
vnder Constables and all other our officers and mynisters

gretinge. knowe ye that we of oure especiall grace c'ten know-  
ledge and mere mocion haue licenced and auctorised and by  
these p'sentes do licence and auctorisē oure lovinge Subiectes  
Iames Burbage Iohn Perkyn Iohn Ianham wiffm Iohnson and  
Robte wilson seruantes to oure trustie and welbeloued Cosen  
and Counseyllor the Earle of leicester to vse ex'cise and  
occupie the arte and facultye of playenge Comedies Trage-  
dies Enterludes stage playes and such other like as they haue  
alredie vsed and studied or hereafter shall vse and studie aswell  
for the recreation of oure loving subiectes as for oure solace and  
pleasure when we shall thincke good to see them As also to  
vse and occupie all such Instrumentes as they haue alredie  
practised or hereafter shall practise for and during our pleasure  
And the said Comedies Tragedies Enterludes and stage playes  
to gether with their musicke to shewe publishe ex'cise and  
occupie to their best comoditie during all the terme aforesaide  
aswell within oure Citie of london and libties of the same as  
also within the libties and fredomes of anye oure Cities townes  
Bouroughes &c' whatsoeu' as without the same thoroughte oure  
Realme of England. willyngē and cōmaundinge yow and everie  
of yowe as ye tender our pleasure to pmytte and suffer them  
herein withoute anye yowre lettes hynderaunce or molestacion  
duringe the terme aforesaid Anye acte statute pclamacion  
or cōmaundement heretofore made or hereafter to be made to  
the contr'ie notwithstandinge Prouyded that the said Comē-  
dies Tragedies enterludes and stage playes be by the master of  
oure Revells for the tyme beyng before sene & allowed  
And that the same be not published or shewen in the tyme of  
cōmon prayer or in the tyme of greate and cōmon plague in oure  
said Citie of london. In wytnes whereof &c' wytnes oure  
selfe at westm̄ the x<sup>th</sup> daye of Maye. p bre de priuato sigillo

## II

[1603, May 19. Licence for the King's players (*P. R. 1 Jac. I, part 2*). This was first printed from the Patent Roll by Rymer, *Foedera* (1715), xvi. 505. Collier, *H. E. D. P.* i. 334, first printed the text of the Signet Bill of May 17, which he took for the Privy Seal. Both documents, together with the entry of the Signet Bill in the Signet Office Docquet Book, the Privy Seal of May 19, and an entry in an old index, are given in Halliwell-Phillipps, *Illustrations of the Life of Shakespeare*, 83.]

Cōm' spīal p	Iames by the grace of god &c' To
Laurencio ffletcher &	all Iustices Maiors Sheriffs Constables
Wiffo Shackespeare	hedborowes and other our Officers and
et al./	louinge Subiecty greetinge knowe yee
	that Wee of our speciall grace certeine

knowledge & mere motion haue licenced and aucthorized and by  
 theise p'sentes doe licence and aucthorize theise our Servaunty  
 lawrence ffletcher Wifm Shakespeare Richard Burbage  
 Augustyne Phillippes Iohn henings henrie Condell Wifm  
 Sly Robt Armyn Richard Cowly and the rest of theire  
 Associates freely to vse and exercise the Arte and faculty of  
 playinge Comedies Tragedies histories Enterludes moralls  
 pastoralls Stageplaies and Suche others like as theie haue  
 alreadie studied or hereafter shall vse or studie aswell for  
 the recreation of our lovinge Subjecty as for our Solace and  
 pleasure when wee shall thincke good to see them duringe  
 our pleasure And the said Comedies tragedies histories  
 Enterludes Morrally Pastoralls Stageplayes and suche like to  
 shewe and exercise publiquely to theire best Comoditie when  
 the infection of the plague shall decrease aswell within theire  
 nowe vsual howse called the Globe within our County of Surrey  
 as alsoe within anie towne halls or Moute halls or other  
 conveniente places within the libties and freedome of anie  
 other Cittie vniversitie towne or Boroughe whatsoever within  
 our said Realmes and domynions willinge and Commaundinge  
 you and everie of you as you tender our pleasure not onelie to

pmitt and suffer them herein without anie your letty hindrancy or molestacions during our said pleasure but alsoe to be aidinge and assistinge to them yf anie wronge be to them offered And to allowe them such former Curtesies as hath bene given to men of theire place and quallitie and alsoe what further favour you shall shewe to theise our Servauntes for our sake wee shall take kindlie at your handes In wytnesse whereof &c' wittenesse our selfe at westm̄ the nyntenth day of May

p bre de priuato sigill &c'

### III

[n. d. (c. 1604). Draft licence for Queen Anne's players (*S. P. Dom.*, *Jac. 1*, ii. 100). This was printed by Collier, *H. E. D. P.* i. 336, and Halliwell-Phillipps, *Illustrations of the Life of Shakespeare*, 106, from the same MS. It is a rough draft full of deletions, which are marked by square brackets, and of additions, which are printed in italics, in the text. The wording resembles that of the licence for the King's men (No. 11), and the draft was probably prepared with a view to a Petition for a similar licence for the Queen's men. But no Patent appears to have been actually issued for this company until that of 1609 (No. vii). A provincial notice of the company (*Hist. MSS.* xi. 3. 26) records a warrant of 7 March 1606 from Anne herself, which they were using as their credentials. The present document has a modern pencil endorsement '1603 July'; but this date is too early. The company was still under the patronage of the Earl of Worcester when it came to Leicester on two occasions during Oct.-Dec. 1603. It had been taken over by the Queen before the coronation on 15 March 1604 (*N. S. S. Transactions*, 1877-9, 16\*). The theory of Mr. Fleay that the document is a forgery is sufficiently disposed of by Mr. Greg, *Henslowe's Diary*, ii. 107.]

Iames by the grace of God kynge of England Scotland  
ffraunce and Irelande, defender of the faith &c:/ To all Iustices  
of peace Maiors Sherryfes vicechancellor<sup>rs</sup> of any our uni-  
versities, Bailiffys [Constables] headboroughes, [and other our  
officers] Constables And to all other o' Officers mynisters

and lov[e]inge subiectes *to whome it may appertaine* Greeting,  
 knowe yee that wee of our speciall grace, certaine know-  
 ledge, and mere motion: Haue lycensed and Awthorised,  
 And by these p'nty doe lycence and awthorise Thomas Greene,  
 Christopher Beeston, Thomas Hawood, Richard Pyrkins,  
 Robert Pallant Iohn Duke, Thomas Swynerton, I[e]ames  
 Ho[u]lt, Robert Beeston: & Robert Lee: servaunty vnto our  
 dearest [and welbeloved] wyfe *the* Queene Anna: w<sup>th</sup> the rest  
 of there Associates, freely to vse and exercise, the art and  
 faculty of playinge Comedies, Tragedies, Histories, Enterludes,  
 Morralls, Pastoralls, Stage plaies, and such other lyke as they  
 haue already studied, or hereafter shall vse or stud[d]y as well for  
 the recreaçon of our lovinge subiecty as for our solace and  
 pleasure, when wee shall thinke good to see them during our  
 pleasure And the said Comedies, Tragedies, Histories,  
 Enterludes, Morralls, Pastoralls, Stage plaies, and such like, to  
 shew and exercise publikly, when the infeçon of the plague shall  
 decrease to the Number of thirty weekly w<sup>th</sup>in *our Citie of*  
*London* And the liberties *therof* Aswell w<sup>th</sup>in there now  
 vsuall Howsen, called the Curtayne, and the Bores head, w<sup>th</sup>in  
 our County of Midd', [or] *as in* any other play howse not vsed  
 by others, by the said *Thomas* Greene, elected, or by him  
 hereafter to be builte And also w<sup>th</sup>in any Towne Halls, on  
 Mouthalls, or other conveyent places, w<sup>th</sup>in the liberties and  
 freedoms of any Cittie, vniversitie, Towne, or Boroughe  
 whatsoeu', w<sup>th</sup>in our said Realmes and domynyons: willing  
 and Comaundinge yo<sup>w</sup> and eu'ie of yo<sup>w</sup>, as you tender our  
 pleasure, not only to permytt and suffer them [herein] *to vse and*  
*exercise the said art of playinge* w<sup>th</sup>out any yo<sup>r</sup> Letty hinder-  
 aunçy or molestaçons, duringe our said pleasure: But also to be  
 aydinge and assistinge vnto them, yf any wronge be to them  
 offered, And to allow them such [former] curtesies, as hath *here-*  
*tofore* bene given vnto any men of their qualitie: [And also  
 what further favour, any of our subiectes shall shew to theise  
 our deare and loveinge wyfes servaunty, for our sake, wee shall  
 take kyndly at your handes. Yeouen at the

daye of . In the . yere of our Raygne of England : &c : /]  
*Gyuen &c*

[Endorsed] The Quenes Plaiers

[14 Associates, *the A altered from a.* 15 Tragedies, *the first e altered*  
*from i.* 20 Tragedies, *ditto.* 28 on, *sic for or.* 32 Comaundinges,  
*the m offered from m.* 38 theire, *the ei altered from e.*]

## IV

[1604, February 4. Licence for the Children of the Queen's Revels (*P. R.*  
*1 Jac. I, pt. 8*). This has not been printed before from the Patent Roll. Collier,  
*H. E. D. P. i.* 340, and Hazlitt, *E. D. S.* 40, print the Signet Bill, and misdescribe  
 it as a Privy Seal. Collier gives the date as January 30, Hazlitt as January 31.]

D' licen' s'pal p James by the grace of God &c' To  
 Edrō kirkham et al all Mayors Shiriffes Iustices of Peace  
 p le Revell dñe Regine. Baliffes Constables and to all other  
 our officers mynisters and lovinge  
 Subiects to whome theis presents shall come greeting whereas  
 the Queene our deerest wief hath for her pleasure and recreaçon  
 when she shall thinke it fit to have any playes or shewes  
 appoynted her servauntes Edward kirkham Alexander hawkyns  
 Thomas kendall and Robert Payne to provyde and bring vppe  
 a convenient number of Children whoe shalbe called children  
 of her Revelles knowe ye that we have appointed and authorized  
 and by theis presentes doe authorize and appoynte the said  
 Edward kirkham Alexander hawkins Thomas kendall and  
 Robert Payne from tyme to tyme to provide keepe and bring  
 vppe a convenient number of Children and them to practize and  
 exercise in the quality of playenge by the name of Children of  
 the Revells to the Queene within the Blackfryers in our Cytie  
 of london or in any other convenient place where they shall  
 thinke fit for that purpose wherefore we will and commaunde  
 and everie of you to whome it shall appertayne to permytt her

said Seruauntes to keepe a convenient number of Children by the name of Children of her Revells and them to exercise in the quality of playing according to her pleasure Provided allwaies that noe such Playes or Shewes shalbee presented before the saide Queene our wief by the said Children or by them any where publiquelie acted but by the approbacion and allowaunce of Samuell Danyell whome her pleasure is to appoynt for that purpose And theis our fres Patentys shalbe your sufficient warraunte in this behalfe. In witnes whereof &c' witnes our self at westm the fourth day of ffebruary.

p bre de priuat' sigillo &c'

[20 and, *sic* for you and.]

## V

[1606, April 30. Licence for Prince Henry's players (*P. R. 4 Jac. I*, pt. 19). This was printed from the Patent Roll, misdescribed as a Privy Seal, and dated in error 1607, by T. E. Tomlins in the *Shakespeare Society's Papers*, iv (1849), 42. The Signet Bill is indexed under April, 1606, in Phillimore, *Index to Signet Bills*, 84.]

D' con' licenc' p James by the grace of God &c' To  
Thoma Downton & al. all Iustices Maiors Sheriffs bailiffs  
Constables headboroughes and other  
our officers and loving subiects greeting knowe ye that wee of  
our esp'iall grace certaine knowledge and meere mocion haue  
licenced and auctorized and by theis p'senty doe licence and  
auctorize Thomas Downton Thomas Towne william Byrde  
Edwarde Iuby Samuell Rowle humfrey Ieffy Charles Massey  
and Anthonie Ieffy Servauntes to our dearest sonne the Prince  
and the rest of theire Associates to vse and exercise the arte and  
facultie of playing Comedies Tragedies Histories Enterludes  
Moralls Pastoralls Stageplayes and such other like as they haue  
alreadie studied or hereafter shall vse or studie aswell for the

recreacion of our loving subiectes as for our solace and pleasure when wee shall thincke good to see them during our pleasure And the said Comedies Tragedies histories Enterludes Moralls pastoralls stageplaies and suche like to shewe and exercise publiquelie to their best Comoditie aswell within theire nowe vsuall house called the ffortune within our Countie of Midd, as alsoe within anie Towne halls or Moutehalls or other convenient places within the libertie and ffredome of anie other Cittie vniversitie Towne or Boroughe whatsoever within our Realmes and Domynions willing and Comaunding you and everie of you as you tender our pleasure not onelie to permitt and suffer them herein without anie your letty hindraunces or molestacions during our saide pleasure but alsoe to be aiding and assisting vnto them yf anie wrong be to them offered And to allowe them such former curtesies as hath been given to men of theire place and quallitie And alsoe what further favour you shall shewe vnto them for our sake wee shall take kindelie at your handes Prouided alwaies and our will and pleasure ys that all auctoritie power priuiledges and pfitty whatsoever belonging and pperlie appertaining to the Maister of our Revells in respecte of his office and everie Clause article or graunte contained within the fres patenty or Comission which haue heretofore been graunted or directed by the late Queene Elizabeth our deere Sister or by our selves to our welbeloued servantes Edmonde Tilney Maister of the office of our said Revells or to Sir George Bucke knighte or to either of them in possession or reversion shall be remayne and abide entire and in full force estate and vertue and in as ample sorte as yf this our Comission had never been made In witnesse whereof &c' witnesse our selfe at westm̃ the Thirteenth daie of Aprill. eñ  
p h̃re de priuato sigillo &c'



## VI

[1609, April 15. Licence for Queen Anne's players (*P. R. 7 Jac. 1*, pt. 39). This was printed from the Patent Roll, and misdescribed as a Privy Seal, by T. E. Tomlins in the *Shakespeare Society's Papers*, iv (1849), 45. The Signet Bill is indexed under April, 1609, in Phillimore, 104.]

D'con' lichen James by the grace of God &c' To all  
 Thome Greene Iusticy Mayors Sheriffy Baylieffy Constables  
 et al headborrowes and other our Officers and  
 . lovinge Subiecty Greetinge knowe yee that  
 wee of our especiall grace c'tayne knowledge and meere moçon  
 have lycenced and authorised and by these p'senty doe lycence  
 and aauthorize Thomas Greene Christofer Beeston Thomas  
 haywood Richard Pirkyns Richard Pallant Thomas Swinn'ton  
 Iohn Duke Robt lee Iames haulte and Robte Beeston  
 Servanty to our moste deerely beloved wiefe Queene Anne and  
 the reste of theire Associaty to vse and ex'cise the arte and  
 faculty of playinge Comedies Tragedies historyes Enterludy  
 Morally Pastorally Stageplayes and suche other like as they  
 have already studied or heareafter shall vse or studye aswell for  
 the recreaçon of our loving Subiecty as for our solace and  
 pleasure when wee shall thinke good to see them during our  
 pleasure. And the said Comedies Tragedies histories Ent'ludes  
 Morally Pastorally Stageplayes and suche like to shewe and  
 ex'cise publicquely and openly to theire beste cōmoditye aswell  
 within theire nowe vsuall houses called the Redd Bull in  
 Clarkenwell and the Curtayne in hallowell as alsoe within anye  
 Towne hally Mouthally and other convenient placy within the  
 libtye and freedome of any other Citty vniu'sitye Towne or  
 Boroughe whatsoever within our Realmes and Domynions  
 willing and Cormaundinge you and every of you as you tender  
 our pleasure not only to pmitt and suffer them herein without  
 any your letty hinderancy or molestaçons during our said  
 pleasure but alsoe to be aydinge assistinge vnto them yf anye  
 wronge be to them offered and to allowe them suche former

curtesies as hath byn given to men of theire place and qualitey  
 and alsoe what favoure you shall shewe to them for our sake  
 wee shall take kyndly at your handys Prouided alwaies and  
 our will and pleasure is that all auctoritye power priuiledgy  
 and ppytty whatsoever belonginge and pply apptayninge to  
 Master of Revelly in respecte of his Office and everye Cause  
 Article or graunte contayned within the fres Patenty or Comission  
 which have byn heretofore graunted or directed by the late  
 Queene Elizabeth our deere Sister or by our selues to our  
 welbeloued Servant Edmond Tylney Master of the Office of  
 our said Revelly or to Sir George Bucke knyghte or to eyther of  
 them in possession or revercon shalbe remayne and abyde  
 entyer and full in effecte force estate and v'tue as ample sorte  
 as if this our Comission had never byn made In witnes  
 wherof &c' witnes our selfe at westm the fifteenth daye of  
 Aprill. p bre de priuato sigillo &c' / ex

[27 said, *interlined*.  
 for v'tue in as.]

28 aydinge, *sic for aydinge and*.

42 v'tue as, *sic*

## VII

[1610, January 4. Licence for the Children of the Queen's Revels (*P. R.*  
 7 *Jac. I*, pt. 13). This has not, as far as I know, been printed in full before,  
 but the material part of it is quoted by Ingleby, *A Complete View of the*  
*Shakspeare Controversy*, 254. Ingleby also states that it appears from the Signet  
 Office books that the warrant was obtained in December, 1609, by the influence  
 of Sir Thomas Monson. His discussion of the matter is in connexion with  
 a version of the licence forged by Collier, in which the names of the patentees  
 are given as 'Robert Daborne Willm Shakespeare Nathaniel Field and Edward  
 Kirkham'. The Signet Bill is indexed under December, 1609, in Phillimore, 103.]

D' con' Robto James by the grace of God &c' To all Maiors  
 Daborne & al. Sheriffy Iusticy of peace Bayliffes Constables  
 and to all other our Officers Ministers and  
 loving Subiects to whome theis p'senty shall come Greeting  
 whereas the Quene our deere wyfe hathe for hir pleasure,

and recreaçon, when shee shall thinke it fitt to haue any Playes or Shewes appoynted hir servanty Robert Daborne Phillippe Rosseter Iohn Tarbock Richard Iones, and Robert Browne to prouide and bring vpp a convenient number of Children whoe shalbe called Children of hir Revellj knowe ye that wee haue appoynted and authorised, and by theis p'sents do authorize and appoynte the said Robert Daborne Phillipp Rosseter Iohn Tarbock Richard Iones and Robert Browne from tyme to tyme to pvide keepe and bring vpp a convenient number of children, and them to practice and ex'cise in the quality of playing, by the name of Children of the Revells to the Queene within the white ffryers in the Suburbs of our Citty of london, or in any other convenyent place where they shall thinke fitt for that p'pose wherfore wee will and comaund you and euey of you to whome it shall appertayne to pmitt her said s'uants to keepe a conuenient number of Children by the name of the Children of hir Revells, and them to ex'cise in the qualitey of playing according to hir pleasure, And theis our f'res patentj shalbe your sufficient warrant in this behaulfe. wittnes our self at westm', the ffourth daye of Ianuary. p bre de pr sigill

[6 it fitt to, *written over erasure.*  
*written over erasure.*]

10 hir, *interlined.*

17 our Citty,

## VIII

[1610, March 30. Licence for the Duke of York's players (*P. R.* 8 *Jac. I.*, pt. 8). This was printed from the Patent Roll, and misdescribed as a Privy Seal, by T. E. Tomlins, in the *Shakespeare Society's Papers*, iv (1849), 47. The Signet Bill is indexed under March 1609 in Phillimore, 104.]

D' licen' agend	Iames by the grace of God &c'	To all
Traged &c' p Iohe	Iusticy Mayors Sheriffy Baylies	Constables
Garland & al	hedboroughes and other our loveing	
	subiecty and officers greetinge	knowe ye
that wee of our especyall	grace certen knowledge and mcere	

moçon haue lycensed and aucthorized and by theis presents doe lycence and authorise Iohn Garland Willyam Rowley Thomas hobbes Robert Dawes Ioseph Taylor Iohn Newton and Gilbert Reason alreadye sworne servaunty to our deere sonne the Duke of york and Rothesay with the rest of their company to vse and exercise the arte and quality of playing Comedyes Tragedies histories Enterludes Morally Pastorally Stagplayes and such other like as they haue alreadye studdied or hereafter shall studye or vse aswell for the recreaçon of our loveing subiety as for our solace and pleasure when wee shall thinke good to see them and the said Enterludes or other to shewe and excise publicuely to their best aduantage and comòditie aswell in and about our Cittye of london in such vsuall howses as themselues shall provide, as alsoe within anye Townehally Mootehally Guildhally Schoolehowses or other convenient places within the lybertye and freedome of any other Cittye vniversity Towne or Boroughe whatsoever within our Realmes and Domynions, willing and comaundinge you and everie of you as you tender our pleasure not onlye to pmitt and suffer them herein without any your letty hindrauncy molestaçons or disturbancý during our said pleasure, but alsoe to be ayding and assisting vnto them if any wronge be vnto them offered, and to allowe them such former curtesies as hath byne given to men of their place and quality And alsoe what further favor you shall shewe them for our sake wee shall take yt kyndlye at your handes Prouided alwaies and our will and pleasure is that all authority power priviledg and proffitt whatsoever belonging and properly appteyninge to the Master of our Revelly in respect of his Office and everie article and graunt containyd within the fres patents or Cõmission which haue byne heretofore graunted or directed by the late Queene Elizabeth our deere sister or by our selfe to our welbeloved servanthy Edmond Tillney Master of the said Office of the said Revelly or to Sir George Bucke knight or to eyther of them in possession or Reverçon shall remayne and abyde entire and in full force estate and vertue and in as ample sort as if this our

Cōmission had never bene made witnes our selfe att westm'  
the thirtith daye March p bre de priuato sigillo &c' Exr

[17 exercise, *sic.* 20 final s added later in each case. 30 shall, *interlined.*]

## IX

[1611, April 27. Licence for the Lady Elizabeth's players (*P. R.* 9 *Jac.* I, pt. 20). The company appeared at Bath during the year ending October 12, 1611 (B. S. Penley, *The Bath Stage*, 14), and also, if the date in *Hist. MSS.* ix. 1. 252 is correct, about which I am not at all sure, at Ipswich on May 28, 1611. The names of Townsend and Moore appear with those of other players in a bond to Henslowe dated August 29, 1611, for the performance of certain unrecorded Articles, of which two copies exist at Dulwich (*Henslowe Papers*, 18, 111). Mr. Greg (*Henslowe's Diary*, ii. 137) is proved by the present document to be right in accepting Mr. Fleay's identification of these signatories with the Lady Elizabeth's men.]

D' licenc' spial p Iames by the grace of god &c' To all  
Iohē Townsend & Iustices Maiors Sheriffs Bailiffs Con-  
Iosepho Moore & al stables hēdborroughes and other our  
lovinge Subiecty and officers greetinge  
knowe ye that wee of our especiall grace certayne knowledge  
and meere mocon have licenced and authorised and by these  
p'sente do licence and authorize Iohn Townsend and Joseph  
Moore sworne s'vantes to our decre daughter the ladie  
Elizabeth with the rest of theire Companie to vse and exercise  
the Arte and qualitie of playinge Comedies histories Enterludes  
Morralls pastoralls stage playes and such other like as they  
haue alreadye studied or hereafter shall studie or vse aswell for  
the recreaçon of our lovinge Subiecty as for our solace and  
pleasure when wee shall thinke good to see them And the said  
enterludes or other to shewe and exercise publiquelie to their best  
cōmoditie in and about our Cittie of london in such vsuall  
howses as themselues shall pvide And alsoe within anie  
Towne hally mootehalles Guyldhally Schoolehowses or other  
convenient places within the libtye and freedome of anie other

Cittie vniu'sitie Towne or Burroughe whatsoever within our Realmes and Domynions willinge and comaundinge you and everie of you as you tender our pleasure not onelie to pmtt and suffer them herein without any your letty hinderances molestacons or disturbances during our said pleasure but alsoe to be ayding and assistinge vnto them if anie wronge be vnto them. And to allowe them such former curtesies as hath byne given to men of their place and qualitie And alsoe what further fauour you shall shewe them for our sake wee shall take yt kindelie at your handes Prouided alwayes and our will and pleasure is that all authoritie power priueledge and pfitt whatsoever belonginge or properlie appteyning to the maister of the Revellj in respecte of his office and euerie Article and graunte conteyned within the letters Pattenty or Comission which haue byne heretofore graunted or directed by the late queene Elizabeth our deere sister or by our selfe to our welbeloued Servantj Edwarde Tylney Maister of the saide Revells or to Sir George Bucke knighte or to eyther of them in possession or reuercon shall remayne and abide entire and in full force effecte and vertue and in as ample sorte as if this our Comission had neuer byne made In witnesse wherof &c' witnesse our selfe at westm' the seaven and Twentith daye of Aprill  
p bre de priuato sigillo &c'.

[6 mocon, *sic.* 23 any, *interlined.* 36 Edwarde, *sic.* 38 reuercon, *sic.*]

## X

[1613, January 11. Licence for the Elector Palatine's players (*P. R.* 10 *Jac. I.* pt. 25, *in dorso*). This is printed from the Patent Roll for the first time. The Signet Bill, misdescribed as a Privy Seal, is printed by Collier, *H. E. D. P.* i. 366, and Hazlitt, *E. D. S.* 44.]

A speciall Comission Iames by the grace of god &c' To all  
for playes. Iustices Mayors Sheriffes Bayliffes Con-  
stables hedborroughes and all other  
our officers and lovinge subiectj greetinge knowe yee that

wee of our speciall grace c'tayne knowledge and meere moçon haue licenced and aucthorized, and by these p'senty doe license and aucthorise Thomas Downton, Wiffm Bird, Edward Iuby Samuell Rowle, Charles Massey humfrey Ieffs, ffranck Grace, Wiffm Cartwright, Edward Colbrand, Wiffm Parr Wiffm Stratford Richard Gunell Iohn Shancke and Richard Price s'uaunty to our sonne in lawe the elector Palatyne and the rest of their associaty to vse and ex'cise the arte and facultie of playenge Comedies, tragedies, histories, Enterludes Morralls Pastoralls Stageplayes and suche other like as they have alredy studyed or hereafter shall vse or study aswell for the recreaçon of our lovinge subiecty as for our solace and pleasure when wee shall thinke good to see them, duringe our pleasure, And the said Comedies tragedies histories Enterludes Moralls Pastoralls, Stageplayes and such other like to shewe and ex'cise Publickly to their best coñmoditie aswell within their nowe vsuall house called the ffortune within our County of Middlesex, as also within any towne halls, or moutehalls or other convenient places within the libtie and freedome of any Cittie, vniu'sitie Towne or borrough whatsoever within our Realmes and dominions willinge and coñmaunding you and eu'ye of you as you tender our pleasure not onely to p'mitt and suffer them herein without any your letty, hynderances or molestaçons duringe our said pleasure, but also to be aydinge and assistinge vnto them, yf any wronge be to them offered, And to allowe them such former curtesies, as hath bene geven to men of their place and qualitie, and also what further favour you shall shewe vnto them for our sake, we shall take kindly at your handes. Prouided alwayes and our will and pleasure is, that all auctoritie power priuiledges and pffitty whatsoever belonginge and pperly appertayninge to the Master of our Revelly in respect of his office and eu'y clause article or graunt conteyned with in the letters patenty or Coñmission which have beene heretofore graunted or directed to our welbeloved s'uaunt Sir George Buck knight Master of our said Revells, shalbe remayne and abyde entire and in full force estate and v'tue, and in as ample sorte as yf this our Coñmission had never

been made, In witnes whereof &c'. witnes our selfe at westm  
the eleventh daye of Ianuarye p bre de priuato Sigillo

## XI

[1615, June 3. Licence for the erection of the Porter's Hall theatre in the Blackfriars (*P. R.* 13 *Jac. I.* pt. 20). This is printed for the first time from the Patent Roll. Colliër, *H. E. D. P.* i. 381, and Hazlitt, *E. D. S.* 46, printed it from the Signet Bill, which they misdescribed as a Privy Seal, of May 31. Chalmers (*Variorum*, iii. 493) prints from the Privy Council Register an order of September 26, 1615, forbidding the erection, in spite of the patent, on the ground that the Lord Chief Justice (Sir Edward Coke) had reported that it only sanctioned the building of a playhouse 'without the liberties of London'. This was a legal quibble, apparently rendered possible by the fact that the patent, which recited the actual site proposed, referred to it as 'in the Suburbs of London', whereas it had in fact been brought by the London charter of 1608 within the City jurisdiction (Gildersleeve, *Government Regulation of the Elizabethan Drama*, 200). Nevertheless, the theatre was in fact put up, and a further letter of the Privy Council to the Lord Mayor on 26 January 1617 (*Variorum*, iii. 494) instructs him on behalf of the King to pull it down.]

D' con' regard P<sup>ho</sup> Iames by the grace of God &c' To all  
Rosseter et al. Maiors Sheriffs Iustices of peace Bayliffy  
Constables headboroughes and to all other  
our Officers Ministers and loving Subiecty to whome these  
p'senty shall come greeting. whereas wee by our fres Patenty  
sealed with our great seale of England bearing date the ffourth  
day of Ianuary in the seaventh yeare of our Raigne of England  
ffraunce and Ireland and of Scotland the three and ffortieth for  
the consideracions in the same fres patenty expressed did appoint  
and authorise Phillipp Rosseter and certaine others from tyme  
to tyme to pvide keepe and bring vppe a convenient number of  
children and them to practise and exercise in the quallitie of  
playing by the name of the children of the Revelly to the  
Queene within the white ffryers in the Suburbs of our Cittie of  
london or in any other convenient place where they the said  
Phillipp Rosseter and the rest of his partners should thinke



fitting for that purpose As in and by the said tres patentys more at large appeareth And whereas the said Phillipp Rosseter and the rest of his said partners have ever since trayned vppe and practised a convenient number of children of the Revelly for the purpose aforesaid in a Messuage or mansion house being parcell of the late dissolved Monastery called the white ffryers neere ffeetestreete in london which the said Phillipp Rosseter did lately hold for terme of certaine yeres expired, And whereas the said Phillipp Roseter together with Phillipp kingman Robert Iones and Raphe Reeve to continue the said service for the keeping and bringing vppe of the children for the solace and pleasure of our said most deere wife and the better to practise and exercise them in the quallitie of playing by the name of children of the Revelly to the Queene have latelie taken in lease and farme divers buildingy Cellers sollars chambers and yards for the building of a Playhouse therevpon for the better practising and exercise of the said children of the Revelly. All which p'misses are scituate and being within the Precinct of the Blacke ffryers neere Puddlewharfe in the Suburbs of london called by the name of the lady Saunders house or otherwise Porters hall and now in the occupation of the said Robert Iones. Nowe knowe yee that wee of our especiall grace certaine knowledge and meere mocion have given and graunted, And by these p'senty for vs our heires and successors doe give and graunte lycense and authoritie vnto the said Phillipp Rosseter Phillipp kingman Robert Iones and Raphe Reeve at their pper costys and charges to erect build and sett vppe in and vppon the said p'misses before mencioned one convenient Playhouse for the said children of the Revelly, the same Playhouse to be vsed by the Children of the Revelly for the tyme being of the Queenes Maiestie and for the Princes Players and for the ladie Elizabeths Players soe tollerated or lawfully lycensed to play exercise and practise them therein, Any lawe Statute Act of Parliament restraint or other matter or thing whatsoever to the contrary notwithstanding. Willing and comaunding you and every of you our said Maiors Sheriffys Iustices of peace Bayliffys Constables headboroughes

and all other our officers and Ministers for the tyme being as yee tender our pleasure to permitt and suffer them therein without any your letty hinderance molestacion or disturbance whatsoever. In witnes whereof &c' witnes our selfe at westminster the third day of Iune p bre de priuato sigillo &c'.

## XII

1615, July 13. Licence for the Children of the Queen's Chamber of Bristol (*P. R. 13 Jac. I*, pt. 20). This is printed for the first time. The Signet Bill is indexed under June, 1615, in Phillimore, 140. In *S. P. Dom., Jac. I*, lxxxii. 12, is a letter of July 10, 1615, from Sir George Buck, Master of the Revels, to John Packer, a secretary of the Earl of Somerset, then Lord Chamberlain, assenting to the issue of the patent, which is there said to be due to the influence of the Queen on behalf, not of John, but of his brother, Samuel Daniel. Chalmers, *Variorum*, iii. 426, Collier, *H. E. D. P.* i. 394, and Hazlitt, *E. D. S.* 49, also print, from 'the State Paper Office', draft Letters of Assistance of April, 1618, apparently intended for issue by the Privy Council in John Daniel's favour. In discussing these, Collier states that the Privy Council Register for June, 1618, contains a letter from the Mayor of Exeter complaining that a company of men actors was travelling in virtue of the patent, which was for children only.]

D' con' regard Iames by the grace of God &c' To all Iustices John Daniell. of peace Mayors Sheriffy Bayliffy Constables headboroughes and other our lovinge subjecty and Officers greetinge. knowe yee that wee at the mocion of our most deerelie loved consort the Queene have licenced and authorised And by theise presenty do licence and authorise our welbeloved subjecty Iohn Daniell and his Assignes to entertaine and bringe vp a company of children and youthes vnder the name and title of the children of her Maiesties royall Chamber of Bristoll to vse and ex'cise the arte and qualitie of playinge Comedies histories Enterludes Morally Pastorally Stageplayes and such other like as they have alreadie studied or hereafter shall studie or vse aswell for the solace and delight of our most derely loved Consort the Queene whensoever they shalbe

called as for the recreacion of our loving Subiects, And the said Enterludes or other to shewe and ex'cise publicquely to their best comoditie aswell in and about our said Citie of Bristoll in such vsuall houses as themselues shall provide, as other convenient places within the liberties and freedoms of any other Cittie vniversitie Towne or Burrowe whatsoever within our Realmes and Dominions, willing and comaundinge you and euery of you as you tender our pleasures not onelie to permitt and suffer them herein without any your lettys hinderances molestacions and disturbances during our said pleasure, but alsoe to be aydinge and assistinge vnto them yf any wronge be done vnto them or to them offred, and to allowe them such further curtesies as have bene given to other of the like qualitie, And alsoe what further grace and favour you shall show vnto them for our sakes wee shall take kindly at your handy. Provided alwaies and our will and pleasure is, all authoritie power priuiledge and profit whatsoeuer belonginge and pperlie apperteyninge to the Maister of the Revelly in respect of his office shall remayne and abide entire and in full force effect and vertue and in as ample sort as if this our Comission had never byn made In witnes whereof &c', witnes our selfe at westminster the seaventeenth day of Iuly p bre de priuato sigillo &c'.

[26 them, *interlined.*]

### XIII

[1619, March 27. Licence for the King's players (*Exchequer, Treasury of the Receipt, Privy Seals*, 17 *Jac. I*, Bundle ix, no. 2). This is printed for the first time from the Signet Bill. It is not to be traced in the Index to the Patent Roll. It was printed from the King's Bill 'in the State Paper Office' and misdated 1620 by Collier, *H. E. D. P.* i. 400, and Hazlitt, *E. D. S.* 50. It is not clear at first sight why the company wanted a new licence in 1619, as that of 1603, No. 11, was still valid. Probably the explanation lies in the specific mention of the Blackfriars as a house where they had authority to play. An attempt had been made earlier in the year by the Corporation of London to suppress the house. Cf. the

documents printed and described in pt. i, p. 90 of these *Collections*. The Bill is signed by Francis Windebank as acting Clerk of the Signet.]

Right trusty and right welbeloved Cosen and . . . . . greete yo<sup>w</sup> well and will and comānd yo<sup>w</sup> that vnder o<sup>r</sup> Privy Seale yo<sup>w</sup> cause o<sup>r</sup> f<sup>r</sup>es to be directed to o<sup>r</sup> Chancello<sup>r</sup> of England willing and comāding him that vnder o<sup>r</sup> Great Seale of England, he cause o<sup>r</sup> f<sup>r</sup>es to be made forth Patent<sup>y</sup> in forme following. Iames by the grace of god king of England, Scotland ffrance and Ireland defender of the faith &c<sup>y</sup>. To all Iusticy Maio<sup>rs</sup>, Sheriff<sup>y</sup> Constables, Headborowes, and other o<sup>r</sup> office<sup>rs</sup> and loving Subiect<sup>y</sup> greeting. Knowe ye that wee of o<sup>r</sup> speciall grace, c<sup>t</sup>aine knowledge and meere mo<sup>o</sup>con have licensed and authorized, and by these p<sup>n</sup>ty do license and authorize theis o<sup>r</sup> welbeloved s<sup>y</sup>vanty Iohn Hemings, Richard Burbadge, Henry Condall, John Lowen, Nicholas Tooley, Iohn Vnderwood, Nathan field, Robert Benfield, Robert Gough, William Ecclestone, Richard Robinson and Iohn Shanckes and the rest of their associates freely to use and exercise the Art and facultie of playing Comedies, Tragedies, Histories, Enterludes, Morralls, Pastoralls, Stage plaies, and such oth<sup>r</sup> like as they have already studied, or hereafter shall vse or studie, aswell for y<sup>e</sup> recrea<sup>o</sup>n of o<sup>r</sup> loving Subiect<sup>y</sup>, as for o<sup>r</sup> solace and pleasure when wee shall thinke good to see them, during o<sup>r</sup> pleasure. And the said Comedies, Tragedies, Histories, Enterludes, Morally, Pastoralls, Stage Plaies, and such like to shew and exercise publicly or otherwise to their best com<sup>o</sup>ditie when the infec<sup>o</sup>n of the Plague shall not weekely excede the number of forty by the c<sup>t</sup>ificate of the lord Maior of london for the time being aswell w<sup>th</sup>in their two their now usuall houses called the Globe w<sup>th</sup>in o<sup>r</sup> Cou<sup>n</sup> of Surrey and their private house scituate in the p<sup>c</sup>incty of the Blackfriars w<sup>th</sup>in o<sup>r</sup> City of london, As also w<sup>th</sup>in any Town hall<sup>y</sup> or Mootehall<sup>y</sup> or oth<sup>r</sup> convenient places w<sup>th</sup>in the lib<sup>t</sup>ies and freedome of any oth<sup>r</sup> City, Vniversity, Towne or Burrough whatsoever w<sup>th</sup>in o<sup>r</sup> said Realmes and Domynions, Willing and comāding yo<sup>w</sup> and ev<sup>r</sup>y of

yo<sup>w</sup>, and all oth<sup>r</sup> o<sup>r</sup> loving Subiecty as yo<sup>w</sup> tender o<sup>r</sup> pleasure, not only to p<sup>m</sup>itt and suffer them herein w<sup>th</sup>out any yo<sup>r</sup> lett<sup>y</sup>, hinderances or molesta<sup>co</sup>ns during o<sup>r</sup> said pleasure But also to be ayding and assisting to them if any wrong be to them offered, And to allow them such former curtesies as hath bene given to men of their place and qualitie And also what furth<sup>r</sup> favo<sup>r</sup> yo<sup>w</sup> shall shew to theis o<sup>r</sup> s<sup>z</sup>vant<sup>y</sup> and the rest of their associates for o<sup>r</sup> sake, wee shall kindly at yo<sup>r</sup> hands. In witnes whereof &c<sup>y</sup> And these o<sup>r</sup> f<sup>r</sup>es shalbe yo<sup>r</sup> sufficient warr<sup>t</sup> and discharge in this behalf. Given under o<sup>r</sup> Signet at o<sup>r</sup> Pallace of Westm<sup>r</sup> the seaven and twentie<sup>th</sup> day of March in the seaven-teenth yere of o<sup>r</sup> Raigne of England, ffrance and Ireland and of Scotland the two and fiftie<sup>th</sup>./. Windebank

[Addressed] To o<sup>r</sup> right trusty and right welbeloved Cosen and Counsellor Edward Earle of Worcester Kep of o<sup>r</sup> Privy Seale./.

[Endorsed] Plaiers Licence. /

[1 *partly gnawed away.*

41 shall, *sic* for shall take it.]

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## XIV

[1625, June 24. Licence for the King's players (*P. R. 1 Car. I.*, pt. 1). This was printed from the Patent Roll by Collier, *H. E. D. P.* i. 435, and Hazlitt, *E. D. S.* 57.]

D' con' s<sup>p</sup>ial: Charles by the grace of God &c' To all Iustices  
licenc' Johi Maiors Sheriffes Constables headboroughes  
hemingp & al: and other our Officers and lovinge Subiecty  
greeting knowe ye that we of our especiall  
grace certayne knowledge and meere mocion have licenced and  
authorised, and by these p'seny doe licence and authorise, these  
our welbeloved Servant<sup>y</sup> Iohn hemings, henry Condall, Iohn  
lowen, Ioseph Taylor, Richard Robinson, Robert Benfeild,  
Iohn Shanck, William Rowley, Iohn Rice, Elliart Swanston,

George Birch, Richard Sharpe and Thomas Pollard, and the rest of their associats, freely to vse and exercise, the Art and facultye of Playing Comedies, Tragedies, histories, Enterludes Morrally Pastorally, Stageplayes and such other like as they have already Studied or hereafter shall vse or Studdy, aswell for the Recreacon of our loving Subiects as for our sollace and pleasure when we shall thinke good to see them duringe our pleasure And the saide Comedies Tragedies histories Enterludes Morrally Pastorally, Stageplayes, and such like to shoue and exercise publicuely, or otherwise to their best cōmodity, when the Infeccion of the plague shall not weekly exceede the number of fforty by the Certificate of the lord Maior of london for the tyme being, aswell within these twoe their most vsuall houses called the Globe within our County of Surrey and their private house scituate within the Precinct of the Blacke ffriers within our Citty of london As alsoe within any Townehally or Moutehally or other convenient places within the liberties and freedome of any other Citty vniversity Towne or Burrough whatsoever within our said Realmes and Domynions willing and cōmaunding you and every of you, and all other our loving Subiects, as you tender our pleasure, not only to pmitt and suffer them herein without any your lettj hindraunces or molestacions duringe our saide pleasure But alsoe to be ayding and assisting to them, yf any wrong be to them offred And to allowe them such former curtesies, as hath bene given to men of their place and quality And alsoe what further favour you shall shewe to these our Servantj, and the rest of their Associats, for our sake we shall take kindly at your handj In witnes &c' witnes our selfe at westm̄ the foure and twentieth day of Iune.

p Bre de priuato sigillo &c' ex'

## APPENDIX :

The two entries here given are from the Docquet Book of the Signet Office and attest the preparation of Signet Bills, although the licences cannot be found in the bundles of Signet Bills, Privy Seals, and the like, or traced in the *Index* to the Patent Rolls. The fee paid was in each case 6s. 8d.

### A.

[1620, February 24. Licence for an unnamed company (*Signet Office Docquet Book*, 7). The existence of this is referred to in one of Sir Henry Herbert's notes with regard to his claims as Master of the Revels at the Restoration (Halliwell-Phillipps, *Dramatic Records*, 93). The company concerned must, in view of Robert Lee's membership, have been Queen Anne's men, who were left patronless by her death on March 2, 1619. The next entry refers to the same company.]

Lee et al <sup>e</sup>	A Lycense vnder the signet to Robert Lee and Nicholas Longe w <sup>th</sup> the rest of their Com- panie, to play Comedies histories Interludes &c' &c' Subscribed by the lo: Chamblaine dat' the 24 <sup>th</sup> ffebr' 1619 . . . . .	6-8
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### B.

[1622, November (third entry in the month). Licence for the Children of the Revels (*Signet Office Docquet Book*, 7). Malone, *Variorum*, iii. 62, gives the following entry from a copy of one of the Lord Chamberlain's Books in *Inner Temple MS.* No. 515, vol. vii, 'A warrant to the signet-office (dated July 8<sup>th</sup>, 1622) for a privie seale for his majesties licensing of Robert Lee, Richard Perkins, Ellis Woorth, Thomas Basse, John Blany, John Cumber, and William Robbins, late comedians of Queen Anne deceased, to bring up children in the qualitie and exercise of playing comedies, histories, interludes, morals, pastorals, stage-plaies, and such like, as well for the sollace and pleasure of his majestie, as for the honest recreation of such as shall desire to see them; to be called by the name of the Children of the Revels;—and to be drawne in such a manner and forme as hath been used in other lycenses of that kinde.']

[Nouember 1622]

Lee et al <sup>e</sup>	A Warr <sup>t</sup> : vnder the Signet to licence Robert Lee Richard Perkins and others Comedians to the late Queene Anne to exercise the quality & Arte of Stage players as they haue bin heretofore accustomed Subscr' by .L: Chamblaine and by order from him . .	6-8
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[Lee et al<sup>e</sup>, *etc.*]